

Epigrams From Gandhiji




Mahatma Gandhi's views on subjects like truth, non-violence, satyagraha, etc., are known universally. But what were his views on copyright? Or what had he to say about a rose or a right angle? It will be amusing and enlightening to know this.

This volume is a collection of pithy sayings of Mahatma Gandhi on various subjects and important issues for rapid, easy reading and for ready reference. The compiler has selected a few thousand epigrams from Gandhiji's voluminous writings. The epigrams have been arranged alphabetically and the source of each epigram is given below it.

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EPIGRAMS FROM GANDHIJI

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PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

For apt quotation, easy memorising and for imparting elegance to speech or to writing, epigrams are handy and useful. My love for epigrams and for Gandhiji has prompted me to accept the assignment to compile epigrams from his writings. There was another reason also. Years back, I had compiled a smaller book of epigrams from Gandhiji which, at the suggestion of my old friend, Prof. D.D. Vadekar of Poona, I had called *Gandhi-grams*. That was just a pocket-book.

The present project has a wider field to cover. Time too has worked in favour of a larger compilation. Tendulkar's eight tomes are authoritative and useful. The Government of India's grand series, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, has proved verily a mine for me. Twenty-six volumes in the series have been scanned. Prabhu and Rao, "saturated with Gandhism" as no one else perhaps is, have provided that valuable, ready-made collection of Gandhiji's thoughts, *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*. Prabhu has, in addition, many other shorter Gandhian compilations to his credit and they all proved an open quarry for me. No deep diving was necessary here to park up pearls from them. To all these and other authors and editors I am deeply indebted, as I have freely drawn on them.

Some of the epigrams have been chosen for an elaboration of a Gandhian teaching. At places three or four sentences are included together. That is for underlining the beauty of Gandhiji's expression. A slight departure from the normal definition of epigrams may be tolerated in favour of a better understanding of Gandhism.

The classification here adopted is broad and there will always be many other ways of doing it. There are epigrams which could equally rightly be classified under two or more heads. In such cases, I have included the same epigram under different heads.

It may sound strange but it is quite true that the Father of the Indian Nation, who was staunchly in favour of using Indian languages, has enriched the English language to a great extent. Gandhiji has contributed richly to world thought. But the way in which he has expressed his thoughts for the world is his particular contribution to English literature.

To be busy with the impressive thoughts of Gandhiji was really to enjoy the company of the Mahatma. During the Dandi March (12th March-5th April 1930) and later in Yeravda Central Prison I was privileged to enjoy the company of Gandhiji, and all those memories were revived while working on the compilation. What a great gift is given to man to re-create the past! It was indeed a unique pleasure to so enjoy the days spent with the Mahatma in that grand Yatra.

Young helping hands provided much needed relief. Miss K. Konkar took up the lion's share of typing, followed by Shri S.M. Kale. Aroon, Anand and Nandan shouldered the rest of the burden cheerfully. Ashok, Vasudha and Sunil were also occasionally requisitioned as helping hands.

Saraswat Bank Bldg.,

BOMBAY, 1971

S.R.T.

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Key to Sources

Numerals after each epigram refer to the pages of volumes indicated by the following abbreviations. Where publisher is not mentioned, it is Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

MM	<i>Mind of Mahatma Gandhi</i> (Ed. Prabhu & Rao), 3rd Edn., 1968
T	(followed by Vol. No.) <i>Mahatma</i> (D.G. Tendulkar) Vols. 1-8; 2nd Edn. (1960), Publications Division
I to XXVI	<i>The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi</i> , Publications Division
TIG	<i>Truth Is God</i> , Ed. R.K. Prabhu (1955)
EWE	<i>Evil Wrought by the English Medium</i> , R.K. Prabhu (1958)
MOG	<i>The Message of the Gita</i> , R.K. Prabhu (1959)
MGCG	<i>Mahatma Gandhi : Correspondence with the Government</i> (1959)
Bunch	<i>A Bunch of Old Letters</i> , J. Nehru (Asia, 1958)

A

ABSTINENCE

Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature.

T-2-4

ABUSE

The best way of losing a cause is to abuse your opponent and to trade upon his weakness.

T-51

ACTION

Action for one's own self binds, action for the sake of others delivers from bondage.

T-2-278

My *Gita* tells me that evil can never result from good action.

XXV-520

What is faith worth if it is not translated into action?

T-5-180

ADMINISTRATION

You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance.

T-3-26

ADVAITA

I believe in *advaita*, I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives.

XXV-390

AFFLICTION

Every affliction has its own rich lesson to teach, if we would learn it.

T-8-24

AFRICA

The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of the manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of the Western exploiters.

T-7-46

AGGRESSOR

The aggressor always had a purpose behind his attack; he wanted something to be done, some object to be surrendered by the defender.

T-8-86

AGRICULTURE

To forget how to dig the earth and tend the soil is to forget ourselves.

MM- 364

Weeding is as necessary to agriculture as sowing.

MM-182

Agricultural colleges to be worthy of the name must be self-supporting.

EWE-26

AHIMSA

Ahimsa is the highest ideal. It is meant for the brave, never for the cowardly.

T-7-128

Ahimsa is the eradication of the desire to injure or to kill.

XIV-463

Ahimsa is not a matter of mere dietetics; it transcends it.

MM-117

Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence.

T-7-61

Ahimsa means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering.

MM-295

Ahimsa is an attribute of the brave. Cowardice and *ahimsa* don't go together any more than water and fire.

T-5-189

True *ahimsa* lay in running into the mouth of *himsa*.

T-5-83

Ahimsa in theory no one knows. It is as indefinable as God.

T-5-248

The highest religion has been defined by a negative word: *ahimsa*.

MM-425

Ahimsa is one of the world's great principles which no power on earth can wipe out.

MM-147

Dharma is one and one only. *Ahimsa* means *moksha*, and *moksha* is the realization of Truth.

MOG-117

Love and *ahimsa* are matchless in their effect.

TIG-57

Love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world.

T-3-144

Ahimsa is the attribute of the soul, and therefore to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life.

MM-24

Ahimsa is the strongest force known.

T-5-307

Ahimsa is the height of *Kshatriya dharma* as it represents the climax of fearlessness.

XXV-563

The fullest application of *ahimsa* does make life impossible.

XXVI-335

The most distinctive and largest contribution of Hinduism to India's culture is the doctrine of *ahimsa*.

T-2-341

True *ahimsa* should mean a complete freedom from ill-will and anger and hate and an overflowing love for all.

T-2-318

Ahimsa and love are one and the same thing.

TIG-19

Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them.

TIG-37

Ahimsa is my God, and Truth is my God.

MM-24

Truth and *ahimsa* will never be destroyed.

T-5-245

The principle of *ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody.

TIG-36

Ahimsa calls for the strength and courage to suffer without retaliation, to receive blows without returning any.

T-7-75

Ahimsa can be practised only towards those that are inferior to you in every way.

XIV-463

Ahimsa was preached to man when he was in full vigour of life and able to look his adversaries straight in the face.

XIV-476

The greater the realization of truth and *ahimsa*, the greater the illumination.

XXV-521

The path of Truth is as narrow as it is straight. Even so is that of *ahimsa*.

TIG-36

Use truth as your anvil, non-violence as your hammer and anything that does not stand the test when it is brought to the anvil of truth and hammered with *ahimsa*, reject as non-Hindu.

XXVI-374

The removal of untouchability is one of the highest expressions of *ahimsa*.

T-4-239

Cow-protection can only be secured by cultivating universal friendliness, i.e. *ahimsa*.

XXV-520

Ahimsa is nothing if not a well-balanced exquisite consideration of one's neighbour, and an idle man is wanting in that elementary consideration.

T-2-354

Ahimsa is a science. The word 'failure' has no place in the vocabulary of science.

T-5-81

Ahimsa magnifies one's own defects, and minimizes those of the opponent. It regards the mole in one's own eye as a beam and the beam in the opponent's eye as a mole.

T-5-91

Ahimsa must be placed before everything else while it is professed. Then alone it becomes irresistible.

T-5-127

Ahimsa must express itself through the acts of selfless service of the masses.

T-5-81

Ahimsa is no mere theory with me, but it is a fact of life based on extensive experience.

T-7-402

Ahimsa should not fear the secret or open hand of imperialists.

T-7-402

When the Gita was written, although people believed in *ahimsa*, wars were not only taboo, but nobody observed the contradiction between them and *ahimsa*.

TIG-103

My *ahimsa* is my own. I am not able to accept in its entirety the doctrine of non-killing of animals.

MM-429

What is it but my *ahimsa* that draws thousands of women to me in fearless confidence?

T-5-291

Truth is my religion and *ahimsa* is the only way of its realization.

T-4-250

Truth and *ahimsa* demand that no human being may debar himself from serving any other human being, no matter how sinful he may be.

XXVI-374

One who hooks his fortune to *ahimsa*, the law of love, daily lessens the circle of destruction and to that extent promotes life and love.

T-4-33

My *anekantavada* is the result of the twin doctrine of *satya* and *ahimsa*.

TIG-12

When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of *ahimsa* is to stop the war.

TIG-40

My *ahimsa* would not tolerate the idea of giving a free meal to a healthy person who has not worked for it in some honest way.

MM-194

Ahimsa and Truth are as my two lungs. I cannot live without them

MM-425

My errors have been errors of calculation and judging men, not in appreciating the true nature of truth and *ahimsa* or in their application.

T-2-204

Indeed, these errors and my prompt confessions have made me surer, if possible of my insight into the implications of truth and *ahimsa*.

T-2-204

For me the only certain means of owing God is non-violence, *ahimsa*, love.

T-2-126

All my experiments in *ahimsa* have taught me that non-violence in practice means common labour with the body.

T-5-225

Whatever strength the masses have is due entirely to *ahimsa*, however imperfect or defective its practice might have been.

T-7-147

True *ahimsa* should wear a smile even on death-bed brought about by an assailant. It is only with that *ahimsa* that we can befriend our opponents and win their love.

T-5-243

If our *ahimsa* is not of the brave but of the weak, and if will bend the knee before *himsa*, Gandhism deserves to be destroyed.

T-5-242

The alphabet of *ahimsa* is best learnt in domestic school and I can say from experience that if we secure success there, we are sure to do so everywhere else.

T-5-304

A votary of *ahimsa* always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of flesh.

MM-425

A steadfast pursuit of *ahimsa* is inevitably bound to truth—not so violence.

MM-118

I see a clear breach of *ahimsa* even in driving away the monkeys; the breach would be proportionately greater if they have to be killed.

T-2-322

A votary of *ahimsa* cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal.

TIG-139

Woman is the incarnation of *ahimsa*. (*Ahimsa* means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering).

T-5-227

Woman is more fitted than man to make explorations and take bolder action in *ahimsa*.

MM-294

Unless the *charkha* adds to your *ahimsa* and makes you stronger every day, your Gandhism is of little avail.

T-5-242

Khadi has been conceived as the foundation and the image of *ahimsa*. A real *khadi*-wearer will not utter an untruth. A real *khadi*-wearer will harbour no violence, no deceit, no impurity.

T-4-21

In Swaraj, based on *ahimsa*, people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties.

MM-135

No power on earth can subjugate you when you are armed with the sword of *ahimsa*. It ennobles both the victor and the vanquished.

T-7-11

The votary of *ahimsa* has only one fear, that is, of God.

MM-12

A votary of *ahimsa* must cultivate a habit of unremitting toil, sleepless vigilance, ceaseless self-control.

T-5-80

It was against the spirit of *ahimsa* to overawe even one person into submission.

T-7-388

The richest grace of *ahimsa* will descend easily upon the owner of hard discipline.

MM-127

Love, otherwise *ahimsa*, sustains this planet of ours.

MM-127

In an atmosphere of *ahimsa*, one has no scope to put his *ahimsa* to the test. It can be tested only in the face of *himsa*.

T-5-90

A soldier fights with an irresistible strength when he has blown up his bridges and burnt his boats. Even so, it is with a soldier of *ahimsa*.

T-5-127

Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him.

MM-122

The strength to kill is not essential for self-defence; one ought to have the strength to die.

T-3-3

If the lambs of the world had been willingly led, they would have long ago saved themselves from the butcher's knife.

T-2-52

If the circulation of blood theory could not have been discovered without vivisection, the human kind could well have done without it.

MM-426

The scriptures of Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus are all replete with the teaching of *ahimsa*.

XXV-521

By *ahimsa* we will be able to save the cow and also to win the friendship of the English.

XXV-520

AMERICA

America is today able to hold the world in fee by selling all kinds of trinkets, or by selling her unrivalled skill, which she has a right to do.

T-3-134

It reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority in America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure, however shortlived.

T-4-173

ANEKANTAVAD

My *anekantavad* is the result of the twin doctrine of *satya* and *ahimsa*.

TIG-12

ANGER

Fasts could not be undertaken out of anger. Anger was a short madness.

T-8-5

True *ahimsa* should mean a complete freedom from ill-will and anger and hate and an overflowing love for all.

T-2-318

The hardest heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering without anger and without malice.

XXVI-159

ANGLE

Rectify one angle of a square and the other angles will be automatically right.

MM-91

APPEASEMENT

A friendly approach was not one of appeasement. An appeasement was possible between enemies.

T-8-4

In no case can there be any appeasement at the cost of honour. Real appeasement is to shed all fear and do what is right at any cost.

T-7-29

ARMAMENTS

If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history.

MM-453

For India to enter into the race for armaments is to court suicide.

T-5-178

ARMY

The power of unarmed non-violence is any day far superior to that of armed force.

T-4-252

What faith can you place in a general or a soldier who lacks resolution and determination, who says 'I shall keep guard as long as I can'?

T-2-365

No general ever won a victory by following the principle of 'being vigilant so long as he could'.

T-2-365

ART

Art to be art must soothe.

MM-56

All true art must help the soul to realize its inner self.

XXV-248

Purity of life is the highest and truest art.

MM-57

True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.

T-2-56

True art takes note not merely of form but also of what lies behind.

MM-56

The art that is in the machine-made article appeals only to the eye, the art in *khadi* appeals first to the heart and then to the eye.

T-3-292

The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely.

TIG-109

There is a beauty and an art in simplicity which he who runs may see.

T-4-170

A life of sacrifice is the pinnacle of art, and is full of true joy.

MOG-21

Whatever can be useful to those starving millions is beautiful to my mind.

MM-56

I consider writing as a fine art. We kill it by imposing the alphabet on little children and making it the beginning of learning.

T-4-164

A semi-starved nation can have neither religion nor art nor organization.

T-2-251

Why should I need an artist to explain a work of art to me? Why should it not speak out to me itself?

T-4-93

Painters and poets are obliged to exaggerate the proportions of their figures in order to give true perspective.

T-2-215

To a true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the truth within the soul.

T-2-159

ASCETICISM

By all means drink deep of the fountains that are given to you in the Sermon on the Mount, but then you will have to take sackcloth and ashes.

T-2-296

ASTROLOGY

I know nothing of the science of astrology and I consider it to be a science, if it is a science, of doubtful value, to be severely left alone by those who have any faith in Providence.

T-2-314

ATHEIST

God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist.

TIG-10

ATOM BOMB

The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the Allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan.

TIG-142

So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages.

TIG-1

AUTOCRACY

Mobocracy is autocracy multiplied a million times.

XXV-531

B

BANKER

Even as a banker cannot run a bank if he has nothing in his chest, so can a general not lead a battle if he has no soldiers on whom he can rely implicitly.

T-5-31

BASIC EDUCATION

Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.

EWE-24

The object of basic education is the physical, intellectual and moral development of children through the medium of a handicraft.

EWE-24

BEAST

Every species, human and sub-human, has some distinguishing mark, so that you can tell a man from a beast, or a dog from a cow.

T-3-280

BEAUTY

The beauty of poetry is that the creation transcends the poet.

MOG-15

There is a beauty and an art in simplicity which he who runs may see.

T-4-170

When I admire the wonder of a sunset or the beauty of the moon, my soul expands in worship of the Creator.

T-2-160

All truths, not merely ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures or songs, are highly beautiful.

T-2-159

To a true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the truth within the soul.

T-2-159

People generally fail to see beauty in truth, the ordinary man runs away from it and becomes blind to the beauty in it.

T-2-159

Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added unto you.

XXV-255

BHAGAVADGITA (*GITA*)

The *Gita*, is not for those who have no faith.

T-2-312

In the *Gita* continuous concentration on God is the king of sacrifices.

T-2-311

The *Gita* distinguishes between the powers of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatibility.

MM-94

The *Gita* is not an aphoristic work, it is a great religious poem.

T-2-312

Salvation of the *Gita* is perfect peace.

T-2-309

A literal interpretation of the *Gita* lands one in a sea of contradictions.

XXVI-289

The renunciation of the *Gita* is the acid test of faith.

T-2-310

The *sanyasa* of the *Gita* is all work and yet no work.

T-2-312

. The *sanyasa* of the *Gita* will not tolerate complete cessation of activity.

T-2-31

Devotion required by the *Gita* is no soft-hearted effusiveness.

T-2-309

The Bible is as much a book of religion with me as the *Gita* and the *Koran*.

MM-98

Self-realization is the object of the *Gita*, as it is of all scriptures.

MOG-4

The object of the *Gita* appears to me to be that of showing the most excellent way to attain self-realization.

TIG-98

The message of the *Gita* is to be found in the second chapter of the *Gita* where Lord Krishna speaks of the balanced state of mind, of mental equipoise.

T-5-21

Time is wealth, and the *Gita* says the Great Annihilator annihilates those who waste time.

T-2-274

According to the letter of the *Gita*, it is possible to say that warfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit.

T-2-312

The path of *bhakti*, *karma* and love as expounded in the *Gita* leaves no room for the despising of man by man.

T-2-278

I have felt that the *Gita* teaches us that what cannot be followed out in day-to-day practice cannot be called religion.

T-2-311

My *Gita* tells me that evil can never result from a good action.

XXV-520

The *Gita* is not only my Bible and my *Koran*, it is more than that, it is my mother.

MM-95

I find a solace in the *Bhagavadgita* and *Upanishads* that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount.

MM-94.

The *Gita* has become for me the key to the scriptures of the world.

T-4-76

Let the *Gita* be to you a mine of diamonds, as it has been to me; let it be your constant guide and friend on life's way.

T-2-307

The object of the *Gita* appears to me to be that of showing the most excellent way to attain self-realization.

MOG-4

My life has been full of external tragedies and if they have not left any visible effect on me, I owe it to the teaching of the *Bhagavadgita*.

MOG-40

In the characteristics of the perfected man of the *Gita*, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare.

MOG-3

I still somehow or other fancy that "my philosophy" represents the true meaning of the teaching of the *Gita*.

XXVI-140

Untouchability I hold is a sin, if *Bhagavadgita* is one of our Divine Books.

XXVI-349

In order that knowledge may not run riot, the author of the *Gita* has insisted on devotion accompanying it and has given it the first place.

T-2-309

The lives of Zoroaster, Jesus and Mahomed, as I have understood them have illumined many a passage in the *Gita*.

T-3-181

The Krishna of the *Gita* is perfection and right knowledge personified, but the picture is imaginary.

TIG-98

A devotee of Rama may be said to be the same as the steadfast one (*sthitaprajnya*) of the *Gita*.

TIG-111

The seeker is at liberty to extract from this treasure any meaning he likes, so as to enable him to enforce in his life the central teaching.

T-2-312

To one who reads the spirit of the *Gita*, it teaches the secret of non-violence, the secret of realizing self through the physical body.

MOG-16

What the Sermon* describes in a graphic manner, the *Bhagavadgita* reduces to a scientific formula.

MM-68

To those who are innocent of non-violence, the *Gita* does not teach a lesson of despair.

MOG-17

BIRTH

Birth and death are not two different states, but they are different aspects of the same state.

XXV-333

The whole world is in the throes of a new birth. Anything done for a temporary gain would be tantamount to an abortion.

T-5-273

BIRTH CONTROL

Self-control is the surest and the only method of regulating the birthrate. Birth control by contraceptives is race suicide.

T-2-226

BLAME

Blaming the wolf would not help the sheep much. The sheep must learn not to fall into the clutches of the wolf.

T-5-10

BOLSHEVISM—SEE COMMUNISM

BONE

Every bone picked up is valuable raw material from which useful articles can be made or which can be crushed into rich manure.

T-4-17

BOYCOTT

Boycott brought about anyhow of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by handspinning and *khaddar*.

XXV-475

So long as we have to rely on the pins and the needles, figurative and literal, we cannot bring about a complete boycott of foreign goods.

T-2-14

I boycott foreign goods, not foreign ability.

BUNCH-286

We are aware that the business of Swaraj will thrive only if the boycott of foreign cloth is successful.

XXV-578

If the people resolve and carry out this programme of boycott and *swadeshi*, they would not have to wait for Swaraj even for a year.

T-2-27

BRAHMINS—BRAHMINISM

The Brahmin is the finest flower of Hinduism and humanity. I will do nothing to whither it.

XXVI-331

Brahmins are born, not so Brahminism. It is a quality open to be cultivated by the lowliest or the lowest among us.

XXVI-331

A true Brahmin should be the very image of humility and not be proud of his knowledge or wisdom.

T-3-270

* The Sermon on the Mount

A Brahmin was hardly worth the name, if he did not have the courage of his convictions.

T-3-270

The Brahmin's duty is to look after the sanitation of the soul, the *bhangi's* that of the body of society.

T-4-104

Where is the real Brahmin today, content with a bare living and giving all his time to study and teaching?

T-5-97

I have the highest reverence for Brahminism, and a sneaking regard for the Brahmins.

T-3-195

I know of no system other than Hinduism under which a class has been set apart from generation to generation for the exclusive pursuit of divine knowledge and consigned to voluntary poverty.

T-3-195

I would not have the non-Brahmins to rise on the ruin of the Brahmins.

XXVI-331

Swear all you are worth, if you like, against Brahmins, but never against Brahminism.

T-2-283

The ideal *bhangi* of my conception would be a Brahmin par excellence, possibly even excel him.

T-4-104

BRAVE—BRAVERY

Bravery is not man's monopoly.

MM-297

Bravery is not a quality of the body, it is of the soul.

MM-61

Non-violence is the summit of bravery.

T-2-131

Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us.

T-5-128

I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence.

T-6-67

Mere brave speech without action is letting off useless steam.

T-2-325

True *paurusha*, true bravery, consists in driving out the brute in us.

XV-157

Unexampled bravery, born of non-violence, coupled with strict honesty shown by a fair number of Muslims, was sure to infect the whole of India.

T-8-176

The art of dying bravely and with honour does not need any special training, save a living faith in God.

MM-302

For thousands to do to death a few hundreds is no bravery. It is worse than cowardice. It is unworthy of nationalism, of any religion.

T-7-252

Active non-violence of the brave puts to flight thieves, dacoits, murderers, and prepares an army of volunteers ready to sacrifice themselves in quelling riots, in extinguishing fires and feuds, and so on.

T-4-257

Non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest.

T-4-253

There can be no friendship between cowards, or cowards and brave men.

XXV-436

The man or the woman who can display this non-violence of the brave can easily stand against an external invasion.

T-5-298

Those who are truthful, nonviolent and brave do not cease to be so because of the stupidity of their leader.

T-5-128

Ahimsa is an attribute of the brave. Cowardice and *ahimsa* don't go together any more than water and fire.

T-5-189

Ahimsa is the highest ideal. It is meant for the brave, never for the cowardly.

T-7-128

The history of the world is full of instances of men who rose to leadership by sheer force of self-confidence, bravery and tenacity.

T-3-23

A straight fight in an equal battle takes some bravery, but braver is he who, knowing that he would have to sacrifice ninety-five as against five of the enemy, faces death.

T-5-111

Far better than emasculation would be bravery of those who use physical force.

T-4-237

BRITISH—SEE ENGLISHMAN

BROTHER—BROTHERHOOD

All the great religions of the world inculcate the equality and brotherhood of mankind and the virtue of toleration.

T-3-257

I want to realize brotherhood or identity not merely with the beings called human, But I want to realize identity with all life, even with such beings as crawl on earth.

T-2-353

A teetotaller would regard it as his duty to associate with his drunkard brother for the purpose of weaning him from the evil habit.

XXVI-65

The *khadi* spirit means fellowfeeling with every human being on earth.

T-2-282

I have never in my life regarded anyone as my servant, but as a brother or a sister.

T-2-279

BRUTE—BRUTE FORCE

Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle.

T-5-105

The only thing that separates us from the brute, with which we have so much in common, is the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong.

T-4-158

The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might.

T-2-5

True *paurusha*, true bravery, consists in driving out the brute in us.

XV-157

We are no better than the brutes until we have purged ourselves of the sins we have committed against our weaker brethren.

T-2-3

'Tit for tat' is the law of the brute or unregenerate man.

T-8-14

To answer brutality with brutality was to admit one's moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

T-7-399

Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal.

T-4-279

The Germans were defeated not because they were necessarily in the wrong, but because the allied powers were found to possess greater brute strength.

T-2-20

Brute is the only test the West has hitherto recognized.

T-2-20

BUDDHA—BUDDHISM

Buddha never rejected Hinduism, but he broadened its base. He gave it a new life and a new interpretation.

T-2-292

Buddha renounced every worldly happiness because he wanted to share with the whole world his happiness which was to be had by men who sacrificed and suffered in the search for truth.

T-2-295

Buddha emphasised and re-declared the eternal and unalterable existence of the moral government of this universe. He unhesitatingly said that the law was God Himself.

T-2-293

For Asia to be not for Asia but the whole world, it has to re-learn the message of the Buddha and deliver it to the world.

MM-433

I know that Buddhism is to Hinduism what Protestantism is to Roman Catholicism, only in much stronger light, in a much greater degree.

T-2-352

I do not believe that "My philosophy" is an indifferent mixture of Tolstoy and Buddha.

XXVI-140

If there was any teacher in the world who insisted upon the inexorable law of cause and effect, it was Gautama, and yet my friends, the Buddhists outside India, would, if they could, avoid the effects of their own acts.

T-2-293

Buddhism is one long prayer.

T-5-148

C

CALAMITY

There is a divine purpose behind every physical calamity.

TIG-24

CAPITAL—CAPITALISM

No doubt, capital is lifeless, but not the capitalists who are amenable to conversion.

T-4-159

I do not regard capital to be enemy of labour.

T-2-257

I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain.

T-2-380

I can no more tolerate the yoke of Bolshevism as described by Mr. Roy * than of capitalism.

XXV 531

What the two hands of the labourer could achieve, the capitalist would never get with all his gold and silver.

T-7-33

Labour, because it chose to remain unintelligent, either became subservient or insolently believed in damaging the capitalists' goods and machinery or even in killing the capitalists.

T-8-97

CASTLES IN THE AIR

A cave-dweller can build castles in the air, whereas a dweller in a palace like Janak** has no castles to build.

MM-7

CATTLE

The half-starved condition of the majority of our cattle is a disgrace to us.

T-2-132

CELIBACY

Celibacy is a great help, inasmuch as it enables one to lead a life of full surrender to God.

XXV-252

What is *brahmacharya*? It is the way of life which leads us to Brahma (God).

T-8-1

Brahmacharya means control of the senses in thought, word and deed.

TIG-126

Grihasthashrama is the fair fruit of *brahmacharya* in life for a series of years.

XXVI-375

CHANGELESS

To me I seem to be constantly growing. I must respond to varying conditions, yet remain changeless within.

T-2-202

CHARACTER

Character alone will have real effect on masses.

T-3-243

Your character must be above suspicion and you must be truthful and self-controlled.

XXVI-297

What will tell in the end will be character and not a knowledge of letters.

XXVI-294-5

A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

EWE-18

Men of stainless character and self-purification will easily inspire confidence and automatically purify the atmosphere around them.

TIG-57

* M.N. Roy, radical humanist (1889-1954)

** Janak, philosopher-king of Videha, father of Sita

Sorrow and suffering make for character if they are voluntarily borne, but not if they are imposed.

T-3-122

A dissolute character is more dissolute in thought than in deed, and the same is true of violence.

T-5-116

If you have no character to lose, people will have no faith in you.

T-3-234

The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character and educational facilities.

T-2-367

A vow imparts stability, ballast and firmness to one's character.

T-2-364

If you will express the requisite purity of character in action, you cannot do it better than through the spinning wheel.

T-2-377

All your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and Wordsworth would be vain if at the same time you do not build your character and attain mastery over your thoughts and your actions.

T-2-376

In the times to come the people will not judge us by the creed we profess or the label we wear or the slogans we shout but by our work, industry, sacrifice, honesty and purity of character.

T-8-8

Whatever may be the pros and cons of going to the public theatre, it is a patent fact that it has undermined the morals and ruined the character of many a youth in this country.

T-2-352

CHARKHA (SPINNING WHEEL)

Charkha is an instrument of service.

T-2-253

The *Charkha* in the hands of a poor widow brings a paltry price to her, in the hands of Jawaharlal, it is an instrument of India's freedom.

T-6-32

The *Charkha* is an outward symbol of truth and non-violence.

T-5-265

The *Charkha* is intended to realize the essential and living oneness of interest among India's myriads.

T-2-215

The *Charkha* is the symbol of non-violence on which all life, if it is to be real life, must be based.

MM-405

The *Charkha* is the symbol of sacrifice, and sacrifice is essential for the establishment of the image of the deity.

T-2-277

The *Charkha* supplemented the agriculture of the villagers and gave it dignity.

MM-408

Seek ye first the *Charkha* and its concomitants and everything else will be added unto you.

T-2-263

The *Charkha*, which is the embodiment of willing obedience and calm persistence, must therefore succeed before there is civil disobedience.

XXV-587

Unless the *charkha* adds to your *ahimsa* and makes you stronger every day, your Gandhism is of little avail.

T-5-242

The turning of the *charkha* in a lifeless way will be like the turning of the beads of the rosary with a wandering mind turned away from God.

T-5-242

I believe that the yarn we spin is capable of mending the broken warp and woof of our life.

MM-405

I claim that in losing the spinning wheel we lost our left lung.

T-2-63

I crave to die with my hand at the spinning wheel.

MM-406

I have called spinning the *yajna* of this age of India.

XXVI-298

If Gandhism means simply mechanically turning the spinning wheel, it deserves to be destroyed.

T-5-242

I have pinned my faith to the spinning wheel. On it, I believe, the salvation of this country depends.

XXV-523

In my dream, in my sleep, while eating, I think of the spinning wheel. The spinning wheel is my sword. To me it is the symbol of India's liberty.

XXV-351

My heart is drawn backwards and forwards between spinning wheel and books.

T-2-108

For every minute that I spin, there is in me the consciousness that I am adding to the nation's wealth.

T-3-5

The spinning wheel and the spinning wheel alone will solve, if anything will solve, the problem of the deepening poverty of India.

XXVI-292

The spinning wheel means national consciousness and a contribution by every individual to a definite constructive national work.

XXVI-49

The spinning wheel is a symbol of non-violence for me.

T-5-290

He who spins before the poor, inviting them to do likewise, serves God as no one else does.

TIG-136

I would like to assure those who would serve *Daridranarayana* that there is music, art, economy and joy in the spinning wheel.

T-2-275

The spinning wheel is not meant to oust a single man or woman from his or her occupation.

T-3-5

The spinning wheel is as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

T-2-38

The spinning wheel is the thing which all must turn in the Indian clime for the transition stage at any rate and the vast majority must for all time.

T-2-63

The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to its unknown inventor.

XXV-476

The spinning wheel for us is the foundation for all public corporate life.

XXV-74

The spinning wheel is the auspicious symbol of *sharir yajna*, body labour.

XXV-562

There is no better way of industrializing the villages of India than the spinning wheel.

T-2-246

If you will express the requisite purity of character in action, you cannot do it better than through the spinning wheel.

T-2-377

Every woman will tell the curious that with the disappearance of the spinning wheel vanished India's happiness and prosperity.

T-2-38

There is no "playing with truth" in the *charkha* programme, for *satyagraha* is not predominantly civil disobedience but a quiet and irresistible pursuit of Truth.

XXV-587

The socialism that India can assimilate is the socialism of the spinning wheel.

T-3-284

The study of Indian economics is the study of the spinning wheel.

XXV-561

The *yajna* of our age and for us is the spinning wheel.

T-2-247

The foundation of service and your real training lie in spinning *khaddar*.

XXVI-378-9

The restoration of spinning to its central place in India's peaceful campaign for deliverance from the imperial yoke gives her women a special status.

T-5-206

Without proper, careful organisation of the spinning wheel and *khaddar*, there is absolutely no civil disobedience.

XXVI-246

There is a vital connection between *satyagraha* and *charkha*, and the more I find that belief challenged, the more I am confirmed in it.

T-5-264

The message of the spinning wheel is really to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service.

MM-404

The music of the spinning wheel will be as balm to your soul.

MM-405

Every widow I have met has recognized in the wheel a dear forgotten friend.

T-2-38

It was our love of foreign cloth that ousted the wheel from its position of dignity.

T-2-63

When the wheel was accepted as part of the national flag, it was surely implied that the spinning wheel would hum in every household.

T-3-300

Hand-spinning is designed to put millions of rupees in the hands of the poor villagers.

MM-409

If hand-spinning is an effective method of making India self-supporting, it must be made part of the franchise.

XXV-317

My Swaraj takes note of *bhangis*, *dheds*, *dublas* and the weakest of the weak, and except the spinning wheel I know no other thing which befriends all these.

XXV-564

A plea for the spinning wheel is a plea for recognizing the dignity of labour.

T-2-63

Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel.

T-2-63

India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning wheel.

T-2-38

Just as there are signs by which you can recognize violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence.

T-5-277

Nothing can so quickly put the masses on their legs as the spinning wheel and all it means.

XXVI-538

Restore the spinning wheel to its place and you will solve the problem of poverty.

XXVI-292

The cause of the spinning wheel is too great and too good to have to rest on mere hero-worship.

T-2-229

If the poet* span for half an hour daily, his poetry would gain in richness.

T-2-215

* The reference here is to poet Rabindranath Tagore.

If we are true servants of the masses, we would take pride in spinning for their sakes.

T-3-300

One hour spent in spinning should be an hour of self-development for the spinner.

T-7-381

There is no *yajna* (sacrifice) greater than spinning calculated to bring peace to the troubled spirit, to soothe the distracted student's mind, to spiritualize his life.

XXV-577

CHASTITY

Chastity is one of the greatest disciplines without which the mind cannot attain requisite firmness.

X-52

Chastity is not a hothouse growth.

T-2-249

CHILDREN

Children wrapped up in cotton wool are not always proof against all temptation of contamination.

MM-281

Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour.

EWE-20

Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.

EWE-24

The law of love could be best understood and learned through little children.

MM-423

The greatest lessons in life, if we would but stoop and humble ourselves, we would learn not from the grown-up learned men, but from the so-called ignorant children.

T-3-137

Pestilence, wars and famines are cursed antidotes against cursed lust which is responsible for unwanted children.

MM-285

CHRIST—CHRISTIANITY

Jesus was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*.

MGCG-301

Once Jesus had blazed the trail, his twelve disciples could carry on his mission without his presence.

MM-133

Jesus never uttered a loftier or a grander truth than when he said that wisdom cometh out of the mouths of babes.

MM-421

Jesus, to me, is a great world teacher among others.

T-4-75

The message of Jesus has proved ineffective because the environment was unready to receive it.

T-2-237

Christianity in India is mextricably mixed up for the last hundred and fifty years with the British rule.

T-2-341

It is a first class human tragedy that people of the earth who claim to believe in the message of Jesus, whom they describe as the Prince of Peace, show little of that belief in actual practice.

TIG-145

Do not flatter yourselves with the belief that a mere recital of that celebrated verse in St. John makes a man a Christian.

TIG-68

If I had to face only the Sermon on the Mount and my own interpretation of it, I should not hesitate to say, 'O yes, I am a Christian.'

T-2-29

I do not accept the orthodox teaching that Jesus was or is God incarnate in the accepted sense or that he was or is the only son of God.

XXV-85

I love Christianity, Islam and many other faiths—through Hinduism.

BUNCH-110

The scriptures of Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus are all replete with the teaching of *ahimsa*.

XXV-521

The Allah of Islam is the same as the God of Christians and the Ishwar of Hindus.

T-4-252

CITIZENSHIP

Education in the understanding of citizenship is a short-term affair if we are honest and earnest.

MM-378

The emphasis laid on the principle of spending every minute of one's life usefully is the best education for citizenship and, incidentally, it makes basic education self-sufficient.

EWE-24

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Civil disobedience is the assertion of a right which law should give but which it denies.

T-6-13

Civil disobedience can never be in general terms, such as for independence.

T-6-31

Civil disobedience is a stimulation for the fighters and a challenge to the opponent, in the present instance, authority.

T-6-31

Civil disobedience presupposes willing obedience of our self-imposed rules, and without it civil disobedience would be a cruel joke.

T-5-96

Civil disobedience is not only the natural right of a people, especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government, but that it is also a substitute for violence or armed rebellion.

T-3-153

Civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen.

MM-166

Civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty when the state has become lawless or, which is the same thing, corrupt.

T-2-76

Civil disobedience can only lead to strength and purity.

T-2-76

Civil disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering.

T-2-84

Civil disobedience means capacity for unlimited suffering, without the intoxicating excitement of killing.

XXV-365

Civil disobedience does not admit of any violence or countenancing of violence, directly or indirectly.

XXVI-538

Civil disobedience and excitement and intoxication go ill together.

XXVI-246

Individual civil disobedience was everybody's inherent right, like the right of self-defence in normal life.

T-7-34

Mass civil disobedience was for the attainment of independence.

T-7-34

Mass civil disobedience is like an earthquake, a sort of general upheaval on the political plane.

T-2-66

Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion, a refusal to obey every single state-made law.

T-2-52

Aggressive civil disobedience should be confined to a vindication of the right of free speech and free association.

T-2-76

In placing civil disobedience before constructive work I was wrong and I did not profit by the Himalayan blunder that I had committed.

T-5-291

Disobedience to be civil has to be open and non-violent.

T-2-52

Disobedience, to be civil, implies discipline, thought, care, attention.

XXVI-246

Disobedience that is wholly civil should never provoke retaliation.

T-3-304

Before civil disobedience can be practised on a vast scale, people must learn the art of civil or voluntary obedience.

T-4-10

Active non-violence is necessary for those who will offer civil disobedience but the will and proper training are enough for the people to co-operate with those who are chosen for civil disobedience.

T-5-281

Non-co-operation and civil disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called *satyagraha*.

XXV-489

The *charkha*, which is the embodiment of willing obedience and calm persistence, must therefore succeed before there is civil disobedience.

XXV-587

Satyagraha does not begin and end with civil disobedience.

T-5-69

Satyagraha of which civil resistance is but a part is to me the universal law of life.

T-3-298

The liberty of the press is a dear privilege apart from the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience.

T-6-1

When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty.

T-2-52

Indeed a civil resister offers resistance only when peace becomes impossible.

T-3-218

Ours is a civil fight, and imprisonment as a civil prisoner has got to be earned by the strict observance of the programme.

T-5-261

If they are truly non-violent, they must also realize that civil disobedience is an impossibility till the preliminary work of construction is done.

XXV-365

For *satyagraha* and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.

T-2-5

The privilege of resisting or disobeying a particular law or order accrues only to him who gives willing and unswerving obedience to the laws laid down for him.

T-5-99

CIVILIZATION

Civilizations have come and gone and, in spite of our vaunted progress, I am tempted to ask again and again, 'To what purpose?'

T-2-29

Civilization is not an incurable disease, but it should never be forgotten that the English people are at present afflicted by it.

X-21

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty.

X-37

Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants.

MM-189

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed.

X-21

Is a civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of a racial legislation and a lynch law ?

T-7-141

Modern civilization has taught us to convert night into day and golden silence into brazen din and noise.

TIG-60

The truest test of civilization, culture and dignity is character and not clothing.

XXVI-258

Further march of civilization seems to employ increasing domination of man over beast, together with a growingly humane method of using them.

MM-426

The British Government in India constitutes a struggle between the modern civilization, which is the kingdom of Satan, and the ancient civilization, which is the Kingdom of God.

X-189

I want co-operation between nations for the salvaging of civilization, but co-operation presupposes free nations worthy of co-operation.

MM-316

Civilization based on non-violence must be different from that organised for violence.

T-5-209

CIVIL RESISTANCE

In mass civil resistance leadership is essential; in individual civil resistance every resister is his own leader.

T-3-310

The field of research is necessarily limited, as the occasions for civil resistance in a man's life must not be frequent.

T-3-297

CLEANLINESS

It does not require money to be neat, clean and dignified.

MM-356

Members of a family will keep their house clean, but they will not be interested in the neighbour's.

T-4-17

COERCION

Coercion cannot but result in chaos in the end.

T-7-102

The man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman.

T-7-61

Since *satyagraha* is a method of conversion and conviction, it seeks never to use the slightest coercion.

XXVI-267

My method is conversion, not coercion; it is self-suffering, not the suffering of the tyrant.

T-2-327

COMMUNISM—BOLSHEVISM

Communism, as I have understood it, is a natural corollary of socialism.

MM-256

The socialistic conception of the West was born in an environment reeking with violence.

MM-251

Our socialism or communism should be based on non-violence and on harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant.

MM-255

I claim to be a foremost Communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich.

MM-248

I can no more tolerate the yoke of Bolshevism (as described by Mr. Roy*) than of capitalism.

XXV-531

COMPROMISE

The essential condition of a compromise is that there should be nothing humiliating and nothing panicky about it.

T-3-67

COMPULSION

Compulsion means submission of protestants to the thing they oppose under pain of being fined or imprisoned.

XXV-316

CONCENTRATION

Counting beads with the name of Allah on one's lips whilst the mind wanders in all directions is worse than useless.

TIG-52

CONDUCT

The safest rule of conduct is to claim kinship when we want to do service, and not to insist on kinship when we want to assert a right.

MM-418

I am painfully aware of the fact that conduct everywhere falls far short of belief.

T-2-294

CONFESSION

Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away the dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

T-2-84

Prayer is a confession of one's unworthiness and weakness.

TIG-48

I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing.

T-2-84

Indeed, the errors and my prompt confessions have made me surer, if possible, of my insight into the implications of truth and *ahimsa*.

T-2-2

CONSCIENCE

Conscience can reside only in delicately tuned breast.

XXV-24

For me the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth, or the Inner Voice or 'the still small Voice' mean one and the same thing.

TIG-29

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Remember that no political programme can stand without the constructive programme.

T-4-156

CONTENTMENT

I would like people to compete with me in my contentment. It is the richest treasure I own.

XXVI-562

CONTROL

If my non-violence is to be contagious and infectious, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts.

MM-277

CONVERSION

Conversion is a matter of heart and reason. An appeal to heart and reason can only be made through conduct.

XXVI-342

Conversion without a clean heart is a denial of God and religion.

T-4-79

Conversion without cleanness of heart can only be a matter of sorrow, not joy, to a godly person.

T-4-79

Surely conversion is a matter between man and his Maker who alone knows His creatures' hearts.

T-4-79

* M.N. Roy—radical humanist

I believe in conversion of mankind,
not its destruction.

XXV-531

CO-OPERATION

I was a co-operator too in the sense
that I non-co-operated for co-operation,
and even then I said that if I could carry
the country forward by co-operation I
should co-operate.

T-4-155

My non-co-operation is a token of
my earnest longing for real heart co-
operation in the place of co-operation
falsely so called.

T-2-382

Non-co-operation with evil is as
much a duty as co-operation with good.

T-2-45

At times, non-co-operation becomes
as much a duty as co-operation.

T-5-276

Non-violent action without the co-
operation of the heart and the head
cannot produce the intended result.

T-5-132

The nation's non-co-operation is an
invitation to the Government to co-
operate with it on its own terms, as is
every nation's right and every good
government's duty.

T-2-46

A government builds its prestige
upon the apparently voluntary
association of the governed.

T-2-45

Drops in separation could only fade
away, drops in co-operation made the
ocean, which carried on its broad bosom
the ocean greyhounds.

T-8-97

A drop torn from the ocean perishes
without doing any good.

T-7-343

COPYRIGHT

Copyright is not a natural thing. It is
a modern institution, perhaps desirable
to a certain extent.

T-2-223

Writings in the journals which I have
the privilege of editing must be
common property.

T-2-223

CORRECTION

Error ceases to be error when it is
corrected.

T-5-245

CORRUPTION

Corruption and hypocrisy ought not
to be inevitable products of democracy,
as they undoubtedly are today.

T-3-301

COTTAGE INDUSTRY

The cottage industry of India had to
perish in order that Lancashire might
flourish.

T-3-71

COURAGE

Human dignity demands the courage
to defend oneself.

XXVI-220

Ahimsa calls for the strength and
courage to suffer without retaliation, to
receive blows without returning any.

T-7-75

Cow

The cow to me is a sermon on pity.

XXVI-545

The cow is the purest type of sub-
human life.

MM-387

Mother cow is as useful dead as
when she is alive.

MM-387

Mother cow expects from us nothing
but grass and grain.

MM-387

Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth.

MM-387

Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives.

T-2-51

Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world.

T-2-51

Cow protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in the human evolution.

T-2-51

We cry for cow protection in the name of religion, but we refuse protection to the human cow in the shape of the girl widow.

T-2-277

Cow protection can only be secured by cultivating universal friendliness, *i.e.* *ahimsa*.

XXV-520

Cow protection means protection of the weak, the helpless, the dumb and the deaf.

XXVI-545

Cow protection to me is infinitely more than mere protection of the cow.

XXVI-545

The central fact of Hinduism is cow protection.

MM-388

Cow preservation is an article of faith in Hinduism.

T-3-290

The only way Hindus can convert the whole world to cow protection is by giving an object-lesson in cow protection and all it means.

XXV-436

My religion teaches me that I should by my personal conduct instil into the minds of those who might hold different views the conviction that cow-killing is a sin.

XXV-518

By *ahimsa* we will be able to save the cow and also to win the friendship of the English.

XXV-520

When I see a cow, it is not an animal to eat; it is a poem of pity for me and I worship it and I shall defend its worship against the whole world.

XXV-459

If I were overfull of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not to take my brother's.

X-30

Cow-slaughter and man-slaughter are in my opinion the two sides of the same coin.

XXV-519

Cow-slaughter can never be stopped by law.

MM-388

The cow can be saved only if buffalo-breeding is given up.

T-2-267

It is no part of religion to breed buffaloes or, for that matter, cows.

T-2-267

Nowhere in the world you find such skeletons of cows and bullocks as you do in our cow-worshipping India.

XXV-518

COWARD—COWARDICE

Cowardice was incompatible with divine wisdom.

T-3-270

Cowardice is no sign of belief in God.

T-4-252

Cowardice, whether philosophical or otherwise, I abhor.

XXVI-489

Better far than cowardice is killing and being killed in battle.

MOG-17

Could there be a greater proof of our cowardice than fighting amongst ourselves?

T-7-167

No police or military in the world can protect people who are cowards.

T-7-255

There can be no friendship between cowards, or cowards and brave men.

XXV-436

It was the cowards who died many times before their death.

T-7-110

It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God.

T-2-85

Non-violence is the virtue of the manly. The coward is innocent of it.

XXV-138

Non-violence and cowardice go ill together.

T-5-136

Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice.

T-2-131

Non-violence should never be used as a shield for cowardice. It was a weapon of the brave.

T-7-30

To change one's religion under the threat of force was no conversion, but rather cowardice.

T-7-274

Swaraj is not meant for cowards, but for those who would mount smilingly to the gallows and refuse even to allow their eyes to be bandaged.

T-2-346

To retaliate against the relatives of the co-religionists of the wrong-doer is a cowardly act.

MM-399

I can no more preach non-violence to a cowardly man than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes.

T-2-131

Far better than emasculation would be the bravery of those who use physical force. Far better than cowardice would be meeting one's death fighting.

T-4-237

I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

T-2-4

The truth is that cowardice itself is violence of a subtle and therefore dangerous type and far more difficult to eradicate than the habit of physical violence.

XXV-437

Running away for fear of death, leaving one's dear ones, temples or music to take care of themselves, is irreligion; it is cowardice.

XXV-138

Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.

T-2-4

Ahimsa is an attribute of the brave. Cowardice and *ahimsa* don't go together any more than water and fire.

T-5-189

For thousands to do to death a few hundreds is no bravery. It is worse than cowardice. It is unworthy of nationalism, of any religion.

T-7-252

Free, open love I have looked upon as dog's love. Secret love is, besides, cowardly.

T-5-196

CREATOR

Religion is the tie that binds one to one's Creator, and whilst the body perishes, as it has to, religion persists even after death.

T-4-41

When I admire the wonder of a sunset or the beauty of the moon, my soul expands in worship of the Creator.

T-2-160

CRIME

Crime is like a disease, like any other malady, and is a product of the prevalent social system.

MM-160

Surrender is no mitigation of the crime. It may easily be simple bravado.

XXV-442

CRITICISM

Healthy, well-informed, balanced criticism is the ozone of public life.

T-4-206

Every true scripture only gains by criticism.

XXVI-226

Volunteers should regard criticism as the food on which they live.

XXV-600

I would like to say that even the teachings themselves of the *Koran* cannot be exempt from criticism.

XXVI-226

Intolerance of criticism even of what one may prize as dear as life itself is not conducive to the growth of public corporate life.

XXVI-227

Surely, Islam has nothing to fear from criticism even if it is unreasonable.

XXVI-227

CRUEL

God cannot be so cruel and unjust as to make the distinctions of high and low between man and man, and woman and woman.

T-3-234

CULTURE

A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.

T-5-10

Mutual courtesy and respect was the foundation of culture.

T-3-258

No culture can live if it attempts to be exclusive.

EWE-20

It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours has.

MM-430

The truest test of civilization, culture and dignity is character and not clothing.

XXVI-258

The ideal is a synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil.

T-2-23

I claim to represent all the cultures, for my religion, whatever it may be called, demands the fulfilment of all the cultures.

T-5-272

My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

EWE-19

D

DARIDRANARAYANA

Daridranarayana is insatiable and there is room enough in his belly for all the money and the ornaments you can give.

T-2-272

The real *Daridranarayana* even I have not seen, but know only through my imagination.

T-2-272

I would like to assure those who would serve *Daridranarayana* that there is music, art, economy and joy in the spinning wheel.

T-2-275

Of all the myriads of God, *Daridranarayana* is the most sacred, inasmuch as it represents the untold millions of poor people as distinguished from the few rich people.

T-2-377

It is my great misfortune that I have to measure your love by the money gifts you give for *Daridranarayana*.

T-2-354

DEATH

Death is at any time blessed, but it is twice blessed for a warrior who dies for his cause, that is, truth.

T-2-237

Death is no fiend, he is the truest of friends. He delivers us from agony.

T-2-237

Death on the battlefield is welcome to a soldier.

XXV-329

To die in the act of killing is in essence to die defeated.

MM-169

Birth and death are not two different states, but they are different aspects of the same state.

XXV-333

It is as clear to me as daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin.

T-3-4

A courageous man prefers death to the surrender of self-respect.

MM-462

Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy.

T-8-205

If love was not the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death.

TIG-18

True *ahimsa* should wear a smile even on death-bed brought about by an assailant. It is only with that *ahimsa* that we can befriend our opponents and win their love.

T-5-243

It was the cowards who died many times before their death.

T-7-110

If we weep for all the deaths in our country, the tears in our eyes would never dry.

TIG-147

Running away for fear of death, leaving one's dear ones, temples or music to take care of themselves, is irreligion; it is cowardice.

XXV-138

No amount of casuistry can defend the penalty of stoning to death in any event or that of death, whether by stoning or otherwise, for apostasy.

XXVI-415

Where death without resistance or death after resistance is the only way, neither party should think of resorting to law-courts or help from government.

XXV-138

What is imprisonment to the man who is fearless of death itself ?

T-2-65

I came alone in this world, I have walked alone in the valley of the shadow of death, and I shall quit alone when the time comes.

T-7-147

Only my death will determine whether I am 'Mahomed Gandhi', Jinnah's slave, destroyer of the Hindu religion or its true servant and protector.

T-7-370

I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the supreme good.

T-2-313

You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God, and I am dead.

TIG-35

It is much more difficult to live for non-violence than to die for it.

T-5-4

History is replete with instances of men who by dying with courage and compassion on their lips converted the hearts of their violent opponents.

T-3-3

Slow and inglorious self-imposed starvation among the starving masses is every time more heroic than the death of the scaffold under false exaltation.

XXVI-141

DEBT

In the billiard room and on the tennis-court think of the big debt that is being piled against you from day to day.

T-2-272

What God may have enabled me to do is but a repayment of debt, and he who repays a debt deserves no praise.

T-4-257

DECEPTION

Terrorism and deception are weapons not of the strong but of the weak.

T-2-20

DEFEAT

Heroes are made in the hour of defeat. Success is, therefore, well described as a series of glorious defeats.

XXV-588

Never own defeat in a sacred cause and make up your minds henceforth that you will be pure and that you will find a response from God.

TIG-58

Defeat has no place in the dictionary of non-violence.

T-4-139

DEFENCE

It is the Maginot Line* that has made the Siegfried Line** necessary and *vice versa*.

T-5-178

Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her borders.

T-5-178

DEMOCRACY

Democracy necessarily means a conflict of will and ideas, involving sometimes a war to the knife between different ideas.

T-3-291

Democracy can only represent the average, if not less than the average.

MM-343

The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation.

T-5-75

* For defence of France constructed by France on her frontier.

** For defence of Germany constructed by Germany on her frontier.

Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine.

T-5-104

Democracy demands patient instruction on it before legislation.

MM-344

Democracy, disciplined and enlightened, is the finest thing in the world.

MM-338

Democracy and dependence on the military and police are incompatible.

MM-347

Democracy is a great institution and, therefore, it is liable to be greatly abused.

MM-345

Democracy is an impossible thing until the power is shared by all, but let not democracy degenerate into mobocracy.

MM-345

Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep.

MM-341

Democracy and violence can ill go together.

MM-347

Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side.

MM-342

The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.

T-3-301

In the days of democracy there is no such thing as active loyalty to a person. You are, therefore, loyal or disloyal to institutions.

T-3-25

Democracy will break under the strain of apron-strings. It can exist only on trust.

MM-339

Islam was nothing if it did not spell complete democracy.

T-7-312

My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.

T-5-277

To safeguard democracy the people must have a keen sense of independence, self-respect and their oneness.

MM-339

What is really needed to make democracy function is not knowledge of facts, but right education.

T-7-209

Intolerance, discourtesy and harshness are taboo in all good society and are surely contrary to the spirit of democracy.

MM-342

The line of demarcation between democracy and mobocracy is often thin, but rigid and stronger than unbreakable steel.

MM-346

In true democracy every man and woman is taught to think for himself or herself.

MM-338

The spirit of democracy cannot be established in the midst of terrorism, whether governmental or popular.

MM-347

The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires change of the heart.

MM-338

People in a democracy should be satisfied with drawing the Government's attention to mistakes, if any.

MM-341

You have to uphold democracy, and democracy and dependence on the military and the police are incompatible.

T-7-284

Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded.

MM-341

No perfect democracy is possible without perfect non-violence at the back of it.

MM-348

The only force at the disposal of democracy was that of public opinion.

T-8-100

True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to represent.

T-3-301

The voice of the people may be said to be God's voice, the voice of the *panchayat*.

MM-340

A born democrat is a born disciplinarian.

T-5-104

A democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or of party, but only of democracy.

T-5-104

The true democrat is he who with purely non-violent means defends his liberty and, therefore, his country's and ultimately that of the whole of mankind.

MM-347

A democratic organisation has to dare to do the right at all costs.

MM-346

If fighting for the legislatures meant a sacrifice of truth and non-violence, democracy would not be worth a moment's purchase.

T-4-156

Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy, as they undoubtedly are today.

T-3-301

DEPENDENCE

No nation being under another nation can accept gifts, and kick at the responsibility attaching to those gifts imposed by the conquering nation.

T-2-13

DESIRE

By means of a desire for enjoyment we have created and continue to maintain this encumbrance in the shape of the body.

TIG-132

When there is no desire for fruit, there is also no temptation for untruth or *himsa*.

T-2-311

DESPAIR

"Despair" is a term which does not occur in my dictionary.

XXVI-266

I shall despair when I despair of myself, of God and humanity.

XXVI-266

DESTINY

Man is the maker of his own destiny, and I therefore ask you to become makers of your own destiny.

XXVI-294

To find Truth completely is to realise oneself and one's destiny, to become perfect.

T-2-73

DEVOTEE—DEVOTION (BHAKTI)

Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence.

TIG-20

Devotion required by the *Gita* is not soft-hearted effusiveness.

T-2-309

Without devotion, action and knowledge are cold and dry, and may even become shackles.

MOG-26

A devotee may use, if he likes, rosaries, forehead marks, make offerings, but these things are no test of his devotion.

T-2-309

A devotee of Rama may be said to be the same as the steadfast one (*sthitaprajnya*) of the *Gita*.

TIG-111

The path of *bhakti*, *karma*, love, as expounded in the *Gita*, leaves no room for the despising of man by man.

T-2-278

Knowledge without devotion will be like a misfire.

TIG-99

Renunciation is the central sun, round which devotion, knowledge and the rest revolve like planets.

TIG-99

Knowledge and devotion, to be true, have to stand the test of renunciation of the fruits of action.

T-2-309

One rupee can purchase for us poison or nectar, but knowledge or devotion cannot buy us either salvation or bondage.

T-2-309

In order that knowledge may not run riot, the author of the *Gita* has insisted on devotion accompanying it and has given it the first place.

T-2-309

DIAGNOSIS

A correct diagnosis is three-fourths the remedy.

T-5-129

DIGNITY

The truest test of civilization, culture and dignity is character and not clothing.

XXVI-258

DIPLOMACY

I know no diplomacy save that of truth.

XXV-423

DISARMAMENT

A free India will throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this.

T-5-319

DISCIPLINE

True discipline gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even though they do not satisfy the reason.

T-5-266

A disciplined army of a few hundred picked men has, times without number, routed countless undisciplined hordes.

XXVI-564

Conscience is the ripe fruit of strictest discipline.

XXV-23

A student's life has been rightly likened to the life of a *sanyasi*. He must be the embodiment of simple living and high thinking. He must be discipline incarnate. His pleasure is derived from his studies.

T-8-71

Unless the discipline is rooted in non-violence, it might prove a source of infinite mischief.

T-4-256

For winning Swaraj one requires iron discipline.

XXV-5

A born democrat is a born disciplinarian.

T-5-104

A man who would interpret the scriptures must have the spiritual discipline.

MOG-13

Chastity is one of the greatest disciplines without which the mind cannot attain requisite firmness.

X-52

No general ever won a victory by following the principle of 'being vigilant so long as he could'.

T-2-365

I have not known of a war gained by a rabble, but I have known of wars gained by disciplined armies.

T-2-13

Non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice, and it demands respect for the opposite views.

T-2-12

DISEASE

We are like the nurses who may not leave their patients because they are reported to have an incurable disease.

T-4-73

DISHONESTY

A businessman who lies and cheats his simple minded and ignorant customers cannot hope to be saved.

T-7-124

DISTINCTIONS

Labour was a great leveller of all distinctions.

T-8-97

DISTRUST

It is weakness which breeds fear, and fear breeds distrust.

T-2-123

DIVINE RIGHTS

There is no such thing as the divine right of the kings to rule and the humble duty of the ryots to pay respectful obedience to their masters.

T-8-31

DIVINITY

Divine knowledge is not borrowed from books. It has to be realized on oneself.

TIG-94

The meaning of prayer is that I want to evoke that Divinity within me.

T-5-147

The Divine Radio is always singing if we could only make ourselves ready to listen to it, but it is impossible to listen without silence.

TIG-60

There is a divine purpose behind every physical calamity.

TIG-24

I cannot ascribe exclusive divinity to Jesus. He is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Muhammad or Zoroaster.

TIG-78

My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired.

TIG-75

DOCTOR

A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vice of his patient degrades himself and his patient.

TIG-114

DOMINION STATUS

Dominion status is nothing if it does not mean the ability of the dominion in question to stand by itself.

T-5-254

My conception of dominion status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to.

T-2-382

DREAM

Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares.

TIG-43

DRINK

Drink makes a man forget himself. He ceases to be a man for the time being. He becomes less than a beast.

XXVI-350

It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink.

XXV-474

DUTY

Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty.

X-37

A duty religiously performed carries with it several other important consequences.

T-3-225

A man can give up a right, but he may not give up a duty without being guilty of a grave dereliction.

T-2-324

Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so *ahimsa* is our supreme duty.

TIG-37

Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence.

T-7-61

Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms.

X-37

Out of the performance of duties flow rights, and those that knew and performed their duties came naturally by the rights.

XXV-573

A pure fast, like duty, is its own reward.

T-8-247

The true source of rights is duty.

T-2-179

A teetotaller would regard it as his duty to associate with his drunkard brother for the purpose of weaning him from the evil habit.

XXVI-65

If leaving duties unperformed we run after rights, they will escape us like a will-o'-the-wisp.

TIG-152

If we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek.

XXV-564

A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children, without first doing his duty by them, excites nothing but contempt.

T-8-31

He who is ever brooding over result often loses nerve in the performance of his duty.

T-2-310

No people have risen who thought only of rights. Only those did so who thought of duties.

XXV-573

You cannot neglect the nearer duty for the sake of a remote.

XXV-160

Violence becomes imperative when an attempt is made to assert rights without any reference to duties.

T-4-13

In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good.

T-2-100

I know, too, that performance of one's duty should be independent of public opinion.

T-2-320

I know that not only is Swaraj our birthright, but it is our sacred duty to win it.

T-2-262

No displeasure, even of the dearest friends, can put me off the duty I see clearly in front of me.

T-5-296

E

EARNING

May not men earn their bread by intellectual labour? No. The needs of the body must be supplied by the body.

TIG-135

EARTH

This little globe of ours is not a toy of yesterday.

MM-286

EARTHQUAKE

A man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake* is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins.

T-3-247

EATING

Eating for the sake of pleasure is a sin like animal indulgence for the sake of it.

XXVI-453

ECONOMICS

Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful.

MM-263

That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values.

XXV-475

The study of Indian economics is the study of the spinning wheel.

XXV-561

We can try to canalize economic trends, we can't run against them in a head-on collision.

T-7-185

EDUCATION

An education which does not teach us to discriminate between good and bad, to assimilate the one and eschew the other, is a misnomer.

T-5-43

Education should be so revolutionized as to answer the wants of the poorest villager, instead of answering those of an imperial exploiter.

T-4-182

Education in the understanding of citizenship is a short-term affair if we are honest and earnest.

MM-378

Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.

T-6-23

Is not education the art of drawing out full manhood of the children under training?

XXVI-275

Literacy in itself is no education.

MM-379

Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning.

EWE-22

Literary education should follow the education of the hand—the one gift that visibly distinguishes man from beast.

EWE-21

Real education has to draw out the best from the boys and girls to be educated.

EWE-32

True education must correspond to the surrounding circumstances or it is not a healthy growth.

XXVI-275

What is really needed to make democracy function is not knowledge of facts, but right education.

T-7-209

National education to be truly national must reflect the national condition for the time being.

XXVI-275

* Earthquake in Bihar, 15th January, 1934.

The function of *Nayee-Talim* is not to teach an occupation, but through it to develop the whole man.

T-7-384

I believe that religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations.

EWE-30

By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man—body, mind and spirit.

MM-379

By spiritual training I mean education of the heart.

EWE-21

Experience gained in two schools under my control has taught me that punishment does not purify, if anything, it hardens children.

T-2-218

I consider writing as a fine art. We kill it by imposing the alphabet on little children and making it the beginning of learning.

T-4-164

I do regard spinning and weaving as the necessary part of any national system of education.

XXVI-275

The aim of university education should be to turn out true servants of the people who will live and die for the country's freedom.

MM-381

A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul.

MM-379

Love requires that true education should be easily accessible to all and should be of use to every villager in his daily life.

MM-381

The notion of education through handicrafts rises from the contemplation of truth and love permeating life's activities.

MM-381

The fees that you pay do not cover even a fraction of the amount that is spent on your education from the public exchequer.

T-2-345

Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind.

MM-377

If we want to impart education best suited to the needs of the villagers, we should take the *vidyapith* to the villages.

T-4-163

In a democratic scheme, money invested in the promotion of learning gives a tenfold return to the people even as a seed sown in good soil returns a luxuriant crop.

EWE-28

All education in a country has got to be demonstrably in promotion of the progress of the country in which it is given.

MM-381

The schools and colleges are really a factory for turning out clerks for Government.

T-2-13

The canker has so eaten into the society that in many cases the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English.

EWE-11

The emphasis laid on the principle of spending every minute of one's life usefully is the best education for citizenship.

EWE-24

EFFORT

The pleasure lies in making the effort, not in its fulfillment.

T-5-174

EGO

We are all like water; we have to strive so to rarefy ourselves that all the ego in us perishes and we merge in the Infinite to the eternal good of all.

T-2-308

EMPLOYMENT

Khadi will cease to have any value in my eyes if it does not usefully employ the millions.

T-7-187

ENEMY

I recognise no one as my enemy on the face of the earth.

XXVI-268

In the dictionary of *satyagraha*, there is no enemy.

T-5-162

No man could look upon another as his enemy unless he first became his own enemy.

T-7-204

ENGLISHMAN—ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Englishmen must learn to be *Brahmins*, not *baniyas*.

MM-325

Civilization is not an incurable disease, but it should never be forgotten that the English people are at present afflicted by it.

X-21

Non-co-operation is a movement intended to invite Englishmen to co-operate with us on honourable terms or retire from our land.

T-2-40

Swaraj means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English.

T-2-19

However virile the English language may be, it can never become the language of the masses of India.

T-7-51

The English language is so elastic that you can find another word to say the same thing.

T-5-150

If the English educated neglect, as they have done and even now continue, as some do, to be ignorant of their mother tongue, linguistic starvation will abide.

T-7-51

We the English educated Indians often unconsciously make the terrible mistake of thinking that the microscopic minority of the English-speaking Indians is the whole of India.

T-2-326

I am not anti-English, I am not anti-British, I am not anti-any Government, but I am anti-untruth, anti-humbug and anti-injustice.

MM-322

I refuse to put the unnecessary strain of learning English upon my sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social advantage.

XX-159

My love of the British is equal to that of my own people.

MM-323

My mission is to convert every Indian, every Englishman and finally the world to non-violence for regulating mutual relations, whether political, economic, social or religious.

T-5-221

My personal religion enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen, or for that matter anybody else.

MM-322

My plea is for banishing the English language as a cultural usurper, as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper.

T-8-128

In any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.

X-41

Personally I crave not for 'Independence', which I do not understand, but I long for freedom from the English yoke.

T-2-326

By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them.

X-41

Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western exploitation in which England is the greatest partner.

T-2-327

To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj.

EWE-46

A smattering of English is worse than useless; it is an unnecessary tax on our women.

XIV-46

Rammohan Roy would have been a greater reformer and Lokamanya Tilak a greater scholar if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English.

EWE-9

This belief in the necessity of English training has enslaved us. It has unfitted us for true national service.

EWE-8

Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing accuracy of thought.

EWE-10

The canker has so eaten into the society that in many cases the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English.

EWE-11

We Hindus and Mohamedans would have to blame our folly rather than the English, if we allowed them to put us asunder.

X-30

It would be a sad day for India if it has to inherit the English scale and the English tastes so utterly unsuitable to the Indian environment.

T-2-18

My heart rebels against any foreigner imposing on my country the peace which is here called *Pax-Britannica*.

T-2-201

Christianity in India is inextricably mixed up for the last hundred and fifty years with the British rule.

T-2-341

No matter what the cause was and wherever it was, Indian governments must never requisition the services of British soldiers to deal with civil disturbances.

T-7-359

There is as much need for a change of heart among the Hindus and Mussalmans as there is among the British, before a proper settlement is arrived at.

XXVI-233

Let us learn from the English rulers the simple fact that the oppressors are blind to the enormity of their own misdeeds.

XXV-397

Man had the supreme knack of deceiving himself; the Englishman was supremest amongst men.

T-8-44

The Britisher is the top dog and the Indian the underdog in his own country.

T-3-71

That I want to destroy the British imperialism is another matter, but I want to do so by converting those who are associated with it.

T-4-93

India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before.

T-2-100

The British power is the overlord without whom Indian princes cannot breathe.

T-5-192

My conception of dominion status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to.

T-2-382

The British are weak in numbers, we are weak in spite of our number.

T-2-20

My motto is "Unite now, today if you can; fight if you must. But in every case avoid British intervention."

XXVI-233

Will Great Britain have an unwilling India dragged into war or a willing ally co-operating with her in the prosecution of a defence of true democracy?

T-5-167

Boycott brought about anyhow of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by hand-spinning and *khaddar*.

XXV-475

I must fight unto the death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India.

XXV-489

The Indian struggle is not anti-British, it is anti-exploitation, anti-foreign rule, not anti-foreigners.

T-5-255

The way out of the riots, on the one hand, and the British bayonets on the other is frank acceptance of non-violence.

T-5-238

What senseless violence does is to prolong the lease of life of the British or foreign rule.

T-7-194

Our non-violence *vis-a-vis* the British Government has been the non-violence of the weak.

MM-349

I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers.

XXV-489

The builders of the British Indian Empire have patiently built its four pillars—the European interests, the army, the Indian princes and the communal divisions.

T-5-237

The collector of revenue and the policeman are the only symbols by which millions in India's villages know British rule.

T-7-215

It was not through democratic methods that Britain bagged India.

T-5-277

For my own part, I do not want the freedom of India if it means extinction of English or the disappearance of Englishmen.

T-2-200

It is derogatory to the dignity of mankind, it is derogatory to the dignity of India, to entertain for one single moment hatred towards Englishmen.

T-2-199

If you must kill English officials, why not kill me instead?

T-3-102

I am just not thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?

T-5-161

I claim to have been a lifelong and wholly disinterested friend of the British people.

T-5-295

My attitude towards the British is one of utter friendliness and respect.

XXVI-52

I may fight the British ruler, but I do not hate the English or their language. In fact, I appreciate their literary treasures.

T-4-93

By *ahimsa* we will be able to save the cow and also to win the friendship of the English.

XXV-520

EQUALITY

Equality of sexes does not mean equality of occupations .

MM-296

Economic equality of my conception does not mean that every one will literally have the same amount.

MM-267

The real meaning of economic equality is "To each according to his need."

MM-267

What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf?

T-3-71

Economic equality is the master-key to non-violent independence.

MM-257

The prince and the peasant will not be equalised by cutting off the prince's head.

MM-248

No two leaves were alike, and yet there was no antagonism between them or between the branches on which they grew.

T-7-115

Under ideal conditions, the barrister and the *bhangi* should both get the same payment.

T-8-63

If a single man demanded as much as a man with a wife and four children, then that would be a violation of the concept of economic equality.

T-7-47

"All men are born equal and free" is not Nature's law in the literal sense.

MM-350

My idea of society is that while we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity.

MM-266

Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper by saying that the former need more.

T-7-47

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more.

MM-268

The elephant needs a thousand times more food than the ant but that is not an indication of inequality.

T-7-47

No man is a true believer unless he desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself.

T-7-309

How can I even secretly harbour the thought that my neighbour's faith is inferior to mine?

T-3-257

ETHICS

Teaching of fundamental ethics is undoubtedly a function of the State.

TIG-151

By religion I have not in mind fundamental ethics but what goes by the name of denominationalism.

EWE-31

To me God is Truth and Love; God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness.

TIG-10

EUCLID

Euclid's line is one without breadth, but no one has so far been able to draw it and never will.

MM-131

If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live.

MM-372

Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point, and is equally unattainable.

T-4-11

EUROPE

Europe is today only nominally Christian. It is really worshipping Mammon.

TIG-143

European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it.

T-3-94

An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity.

T-2-46

A free India will claim to examine every European interest on its merits and that which conflicts with the national interest will go by the board.

T-5-192

EVIL

Not until we have reduced ourselves to nothingness can we conquer the evil in us.

TIG-56

He who has a living faith in God will not do evil deeds with the name of God on his lips.

T-4-252

Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

T-2-45

Non-violence does not signify that man must not fight against the enemy, and by enemy is meant the evil which men do, not the human beings themselves.

T-8-281

Real non-co-operation is non-co-operation with evil and not with the evil-doer.

T-2-200

In a strictly scientific sense God is at the bottom of both good and evil.

TIG-25

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right and wrong, or good and evil.

TIG-66

EVOLUTION

Like man, the meaning of great writings suffers evolution.

T-2-311

The religion of our conception, thus imperfect, is always subject to a process of evolution and re-interpretation.

TIG-65

EXPERIMENTS

My experiments I hold to be infinitely more important than the best equipped Himalayan expeditions.

MM-8

EXPLOITATION

The divorce of intellect from body labour has made us perhaps the shortest-lived, most resourceless and most exploited nation on earth.

T-3-289

Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all war.

T-7-2

Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western exploitation in which England is the greatest partner.

T-2-327

F

FAITH

Faith becomes lame, when it ventures into matters pertaining to reason.

T-7-36

A faith gained in strength only when people were willing to lay down their lives for it.

T-7-386

Faith is like the Himalaya mountains which cannot possibly change.

T-3-244

Faith is not a delicate flower which would wither away under the slightest stormy weather.

T-3-244

Robust faith in oneself and brave trust of the opponent, so called or real, is the best safeguard.

T-8-133

Exercise of faith will be the safest where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to truth and love.

T-2-313

A living faith cannot be manufactured by the rule of majority.

MM-341

What is faith worth if it is not translated into action?

T-5-180

If you have faith in the cause and the means and in God, the hot sun will be cool for you.

T-2-182

It is poor faith that needs fair weather for standing firm. That alone is true faith that stands the foulest weather.

XXV-337

Nothing can be more hurtful to an honourable man than that he should be accused of bad faith.

XX-160

Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. It is given through the language of the heart.

TIG-70

Every living faith must have within itself the power of rejuvenation if it is to live.

TIG-73

Work without faith is like an attempt to reach the bottom of a bottomless pit.

MM-5

A man with a grain of faith in God never loses hope, because he ever believes in the ultimate triumph of Truth.

XXV-188

A man of faith does not bargain or stipulate with God.

XXV-88

Just as the body cannot exist without blood, so the soul needs the matchless and pure strength of faith.

TIG-112

Non-violence succeeds only when we have a real living faith in God.

T-5-14

A *satyagrahi* should have a living faith in God.

T-5-92

The Gita is not for those who have no faith.

T-2-2

I am a seasoned soldier of non-violence, and I have evidence enough to sustain my faith.

T-5-222

I have made the world's faith in God my own and as my faith is effaceable, I regard that faith as amounting to experience.

TIG-4

I know nothing of the science of astrology and I consider it to be a science, if it is a science, of doubtful value, to be severely left alone by those who have any faith in Providence.

T-2-314

It is the faith and perseverance and single-mindedness with which Hitler has perfected his weapons of destruction that commands my admiration.

T-5-291

God's word is: 'He who strives never perishes' I have implicit faith in that promise.

TIG-4

My effort should never be to undermine another's faith but to make him a better follower of his own faith.

T-2-343

My faith in non-co-operation is as bright as ever.

XXV-336

My faith is brightest in the midst of impenetrable darkness.

MM-132

My faith runs so very much faster than my reason that I can challenge the whole world and say, 'God is, was and ever shall be'.

TIG-13

The only tyrant I accept in this world is the 'still small voice' within.

MM-14

My implicit faith in non-violence does mean yielding to minorities when they are really weak.

MM-343

Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

T-2-97

Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her borders.

T-5-178

With me the connection between the cosmic phenomena and human behaviour is a living faith that draws me nearer to God, humbles me and makes me readier for facing Him.

T-3-251

Without a belief in my programme and without an acceptance of my condition, you will ruin me, ruin yourselves and ruin the cause.

T-5-265

All faiths constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect and liable to error.

TIG-65

Tolerance implies a gratuitous assumption of the inferiority of other faiths to one's own.

TIG-64

What faith can you place in a general or a soldier who lacks resolution and determination, who says, 'I shall keep guard as long as I can'?

T-2-365

Can a general fight on the strength of the soldiers who, he knows, have no faith in him?

T-5-266

Decency requires that when a programme is approved by the majority, all should carry it out faithfully.

T-5-225

Even as a tree has a single trunk, but many branches and leaves, there is one religion but any number of faiths.

TIG-65

He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by a living faith.

T-2-213

If you have no character to lose, people will have no faith in you.

T-3-34

Khaddar is an activity that can absorb all the time of all available men and women and grown-up children, if they have faith.

XXV-365

Legal imposition avoids the necessity of honour or good faith.

XXVI-162

The *khadi* spirit means an equally illimitable faith.

T-2-282

Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

TIG-55

The renunciation of the *Gita* is the acid test of faith.

T-2-310

Those who are lacking in *bhakti*, lacking in faith, are ill qualified to interpret the scriptures.

TIG-96

FAST—FASTING

Fasting and prayer are common injunctions in my religion.

T-2-152

Fasting for light and penance is a hoary institution.

T-3-165

A pure fast, like duty, is its own reward.

T-8-247

Fasting is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends, noble as well as ignoble.

T-5-61

A complete fast is a complete and literal denial of self. It is the truest prayer.

MM-35

A genuine fast cleanses the body, mind and soul. It crucifies the flesh and to that extent sets the soul free.

MM-35

Fasts could not be undertaken out of anger. Anger was a short madness.

T-8-5

All fasting and all penance must as far as possible be secret.

T-2-86

What the eyes are for the outer world, fasts are for the inner.

T-2-218

A fast to be true must be accompanied by a readiness to receive pure thoughts and determination to resist all Satan's temptations.

TIG-52

When a man fasts, it is not the gallons of water he drinks that sustains him, but God.

T-8-108

My fast is among other things meant to qualify me for achieving that equal and selfless love.

T-2-151

My fast is a matter between God and myself.

T-2-150

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress which one can not remove, one must fast and pray.

T-2-148

My austerities, fastings and prayers are, I know of no value, if I rely upon them for reforming me.

TIG-153

FEAR—FEARLESS

Fear is a worse disease than malaria or kalaazar; these diseases kill the body, fear kills the soul.

T-2-304

Fear of disease killed more men than disease itself.

T-7-110

A fear-stricken person can never know God, and one who knows God will never fear a mortal man.

T-2-304

The fear of the judge within is more terrible than that of the one without.

T-2-47

Where there is fear, there is no religion.

T-2-230

There is always the fear of self-righteousness possessing us, the fear of arrogating to ourselves a superiority that we do not possess.

T-5-243

It is weakness which breeds fear, and fear breeds distrust.

T-2-133

There would be no one to frighten you if you refused to be afraid.

T-2-302

The man who fears man falls from the estate of man. Fear God alone.

T-2-302

The greatest help you can give me is to banish fear from your hearts.

T-7-260

External fears cease of their own accord when once we have conquered these traitors within the camp.

MM-60

For a non-violent person, the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him.

T-5-304

Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love.

XXV-563

Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.

XXV-563

A man who throws himself on God ceases to fear man.

T-2-369

Running away for fear of death, leaving one's dear ones, temples or music to take care of themselves, is irreligion, it is cowardice.

XXV-138

It needs more than a heart of oak to shed all fear except the fear of God.

T-4-33

You will find that God is always by the side of the fearless. Therefore, we should fear Him alone and seek His protection.

T-7-273

The golden rule is to act fearlessly upon what one believes to be right.

MM-60

Fearlessness presupposes calmness and peace of mind.

MM-60

FIGHT

I am convinced that the masses do not want to fight if the leader do not.

MM-400

My fight against untouchability is a fight against the impure in humanity.

T-3-168

FIRE

An incendiary uses fire for his destructive and nefarious purpose, a housewife makes daily use of it in preparing nourishing food for mankind.

MM-448

FLAG

A national spirit is necessary for the national existence. A flag is a material aid to the development of such a spirit.

XXVI-544

FLATTERY

Flattery and anger are the two sides of weakness, one the obverse, other the reverse. The reverse—anger—is worse than the obverse—flattery.

XXV-574

FORCE

Love is the subtlest force in the world.

XXV-392

The force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the material forces of nature, like electricity.

T-3-112

The force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity.

T-5-281

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal.

TIG-84

To conquer the subtle passions seems to me to be harder far than the physical conquest of the world by the force of arms.

TIG-58

The older men should yield with grace what will be taken from them by force if they do not read the signs of the times.

T-2-371

The more efficient a force is, the more silent and the more subtle it is.

XXV-392

FOREIGN CLOTH

Love of foreign cloth has brought foreign domination, pauperism and, what is worst, shame to many a home.

T-2-55

Untouchability of foreign cloth is as much a virtue with all of us as untouchability of the suppressed classes must be a sin with every devout Hindu.

T-2-53

In burning my foreign cloths, I burn my shame.

T-2-64

FORGIVENESS

Forgiveness is the quality of the brave, not of the cowardly.

MM-473

Forgiveness is a quality of the soul and therefore a positive quality.

MM-420

The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.

MM-421

A definite forgiveness would mean a definite recognition of our strength.

T-2-5

Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature.

T-2-4

A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her.

T-24

Forgiveness adorns a soldier.

T-4-2

With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront on India's devoted head.

T-2-4

FREEDOM

Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism though they may be of the true type, never by heroism so called.

T-2-333

Freedom is like a birth. Till we are fully free, we are slaves.

MM-311

Freedom of worship, even of public speech, would become a farce if interference became the order of the day.

T-8-132

Freedom received through the efforts of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn.

T-5-276

Freedom battles are not fought without paying heavy prices.

T-5-57

No charter of freedom will be worth looking at which does not ensure the same measure of freedom for the minorities as for the majority.

T-5-201

No government on earth can make men, who have realized freedom in their hearts, salute against their will.

T-7-113

No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom.

MM-312

When freedom is in jeopardy, non-co-operation may be a duty and prison may be a palace.

XXV-393

God demands nothing less than complete self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom that is worth having.

TIG-57

Is it not possible for us all to realize that the masses will never mount to freedom through murder?

T-5-258

True *ahimsa* should mean a complete freedom from ill-will and anger and hate and an overflowing love for all.

T-2-318

The bomb-throwers have discredited the cause of freedom, in whose name they threw the bombs.

T-2-357

There is nothing but non-violence to fall back upon for retaining our freedom, even as we had to do for gaining it.

T-7-95

This freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth.

TIG-37

Freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near.

T-7-2

India's freedom will not be won by violence but only by the purest suffering without retaliation.

XXV-277

There is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.

EWE-29

We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries.

T-2-200

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible.

EWE-11

If any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.

X-41

I would far rather that India perished than that she won freedom as the sacrifice of truth.

T-3-113

I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables for the sake of winning the freedom of India.

T-3-113

My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means, for their fruit will not be freedom but slavery in disguise.

T-2-126

For my own part, I do not want the freedom of India if it means extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen.

T-2-200

Through realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man.

T-2-353

It will be hard to find a parallel in history in which unarmed people have represented the urge for freedom, turning the very armlessness into the central means for deliverance.

T-5-193

Though we are politically free, we are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West.

EWE-28

Nothing depends upon the death of an individual, be he ever so great, but much depends upon the freedom of India.

T-2-314

A slave has not the freedom even to do the right thing.

T-2-6

A slave-holder, who has decided to abolish slavery, does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not

T-5-201

FRIENDS—FRIENDSHIP

Friends to be friends are not called upon to agree even on most points.

T-2-214

Death is no fiend, he is the truest of friends. He delivers us from agony.

T-2-237

With me marriage is no necessary test of friendship even between husband and wife, let alone their respective clans.

XXVI-285

It is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

T-4-291

My attitude towards the English is one of utter friendliness and respect.

XXVI-52

G

GANDHISM

If Gandhism means simply mechanically turning the spinning wheel, it deserves to be destroyed.

T-5-241

What is Gandhism but winning Swaraj by means of truth and non-violence?

T-3-78

There is no such thing as 'Gandhism', and I do not want to leave any sect after me.

T-4-54

If our *ahimsa* is not of the brave but of the weak, and if it will bend the knee before *himsa*, Gandhism deserves to be destroyed.

T-5-242

They might kill me but they cannot kill Gandhism. If truth can be killed, Gandhism can be killed.

T-3-78

I hold my message to be far superior to myself and far superior to the vehicle through which it is expressed.

T-2-264

Unless the *charkha* adds to your *ahimsa* and makes you stronger every day, your Gandhism is of little avail.

T-5-242

There is already enough superstition in our country. No effort should be spared to resist further addition in the shape of Gandhi worship.

XXV-334

Though a non-co-operator, I shall gladly subscribe to a bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me *mahatma* and to touch my feet.

T-2-257

Was it that you wanted to pull my leg by transporting me to the frozen Himalayan heights of 'mahatmaship' and claiming for yourself absolution from having to follow my precepts?

T-2-3

GENTLENESS

Non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness.

XXV-473

GERMANY

The Germans were defeated not because they were necessarily in the wrong, but because the allied powers were found to possess greater brute strength.

T-2-20

I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled.

T-5-161

I must refuse to believe that Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman ingenuity.

T-5-161

GIFTS

I fear the Greeks especially when they bring gifts.

T-5-38

What we receive must be called a gift; for as debtors we are entitled to no consideration for the discharge of the obligations.

MOG-19

GOD

God accepts the sacrifice of the pure in heart.

T-2-377

God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended errors of men who live in fear of Him.

MM-46

God alone is immortal, imperishable.

MM-72

God alone is truth and everything else is transitory and illusory.

XXVI-265

God alone knows Absolute Truth.

MM-72

God answers prayer in His own way, not ours.

MM-91

God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may He be so to every one of us.

TIG-22

God can never be realized by one who is not pure of heart.

TIG-57

God cannot be so cruel and unjust as to make the distinctions of high and low between man and man, and woman and woman.

T-3-234

God cannot be realised through the intellect.

MM-72

God chooses as His instrument the humblest and weakest of His creatures to fulfil Himself.

T-5-115

God created man to work for his food and said that those who ate without work were thieves.

T-2-63

God demands nothing less than self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom that is worth having.

MM-224

God does not punish directly. His ways are inscrutable.

T-2-134

God gifted man with intellect that he might know his Maker. Man abused it so that he might forget his Maker.

X-28

God-given religion is beyond all speech.

TIG-65

God has a thousand names, or rather He is Nameless.

MM-78

God has been described by all the scriptures of the world as a protector and saviour of the sinner.

T-3-230

God has blessed man with seed that has the highest potency and woman with a field richer than the richest earth to be found anywhere on this globe.

T-4-60

God has blessed me with the mission to place non-violence before the nation for adoption.

T-5-210

God has enabled man to distinguish between his sister, his mother, his daughter and his wife.

MM-272

God has enabled me to affect the life of the country since 1920 without the necessity of office.

T-2-371

God has given us only a limited sphere of action and a limited vision.

T-2-326

God has His own way of choosing His instruments.

T-5-151

God has made of man and woman one complete whole. In the scheme of nature, both of them are equal.

T-7-380

God has so ordered this world that no one can keep his goodness or badness exclusively to himself.

MM-434

God having cast my lot in the midst of the people of India, I should be untrue to my Maker if I failed to serve them.

MM-436

God Himself has reserved no right of revision of His own laws nor is there any need for Him for any such revision.

TIG-23

God is the hardest taskmaster I have known on this earth and He tries you through and through.

MM-50

God is the source of Light and Life and yet He is above and beyond all these. God is conscience.

XXVI-224

God is the vital force or spirit which is all-pervading, all-embracing and, therefore, beyond human ken.

MM-89

God is the shield of the non-violent.

MM-126

God in his wisdom has circumscribed man's vision, and rightly too, for otherwise man's conceit would know no bounds.

T-3-255

God is always the upholder of justice.

T-5-161

God is certainly one. He has no second. He is unfathomable, unknowable and unknown to the vast majority of mankind.

XXV-178

God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist.

TIG-10

God is continuously in action, without resting for a single moment.

TIG-140

God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is great.

XXV-479

God is not a person. God is an eternal principle.

T-3-147

God is not a Power residing in the clouds. He is an unseen Power residing within us and nearer to us than finger nails to the flesh.

TIG-19

God is not in Kaaba or in Kashi. He is within everyone of us.

XXV-451

God is not outside this earthly case of ours.

TIG-33

God is omnipresent; even a pebble in the Narmada can represent Him and serve as an object of worship.

XXVI-309

God is that indefinable something which we all feel but which we do not know.

XXVI-224

God makes crooked straight for us and sets things right when they seem to go dead wrong.

T-7-143

God never made man that he may consider another man as untouchable.

XXVI-354

God of Truth and Justice can never create distinctions of high and low among His own children.

T-3-221

God resides in every human form, indeed in every particle of His creation, in everything that is on this earth.

T-4-124

God rules even where Satan seems to hold sway, because the latter exists only on God's sufferance.

T-7-147

God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation.

XXV-479

God's laws are eternal and unalterable and not separable from God Himself.

T-2-293

God's time never stops.

MM-88

God's ways are more than Man's arithmetic.

T-5-151

God's word is : He who strives never perishes.

TIG-4

God to be God must rule the heart and transform it.

TIG-8

God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Tolerance incarnate, allows Mammon to have his nine days' wonder.

TIG-144

God took and needed no personal service. He served His creatures without demanding any service for Himself in return.

T-4-304

God tries his votaries through and through, but never beyond endurance.

XXVI-159

God was known by many names. And in the last analysis God's names were as many as human beings.

T-8-169

God, who is the embodiment of Truth and Right and Justice, can never have sanctioned a religion or practice which regards one-fifth of our vast population as untouchables.

T-3-280

God will cease to be God, if he brought into being a single person with the hall-mark of inferiority.

XXVI-354

God will not be God, if He allowed Himself to be the object of proof by His creatures.

T-3-200

God will rule the lives of all those who will surrender themselves without reservation to Him.

T-3-136

I am endeavouring to see God through service of humanity; for I know that God is neither in heaven, nor down below, but in everyone.

TIG-5

I am not likely to obtain the result flowing from the worship of God by laying myself prostrate before Satan.

X-43

I believe in absolute oneness of God and, therefore, also of humanity.

T-2-149

I believe in God, not as a theory but as a fact more real than life itself.

XXVI-233

I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil in Him and yet if there is evil, He is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

T-2-314

I can neither serve God nor humanity if as an Indian I do not serve India, and as a Hindu I do not serve Indian Mussalmans.

XXV-260

I can see that in the midst of death, life persists, in the midst of untruth, truth persists, in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme Good.

T-2-313

I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God.

T-5-295

I claim to know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last because I recognize no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions.

TIG-27

I do not accept the orthodox teaching that Jesus was or is God incarnate in the accepted sense or that he was or is the only Son of God.

XXV-85

I hold it a blasphemy to say that the Creator resides in a temple from which a particular class of His devotees sharing the faith in it are excluded.

T-3-219

If God is not a personal being for me like my earthly father, He is infinitely more.

T-3-250

If God is vast and boundless as the ocean, how can a tiny drop like man imagine what He is?

TIG-45

If God holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in the place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way.

T-5-213

If I could persuade myself that I could find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately.

TIG-35

If I had no God to rely upon, I should be, like Timon, a hater of my species.

XXV-390

If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that God is Truth.

T-3-144

If it was wrong to seek God in a stone, how was it right to seek Him in a book called the *Gita*, the *Granth Saheb* or the *Koran*?

T-8-269

If we could all give our own definitions of God, there would be as many definitions as there are men and women.

XXVI-224

If we had attained the full vision of Truth, we would no longer be seekers, but become one with God, for Truth is God.

TIG-64

I know of no religion or sect that has done or is doing without its house of God, variously described as a temple, a mosque, a church, a synagogue or *agiary*.

T-3-194

I know that I can never be alone as God is there with me.

T-5-290

I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions.

T-5-58

I shall despair when I despair of myself, of God and humanity.

XXVI-266

I trust men only because I trust God.

XXV-390

I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

T-5-58

By *Ram Raj* I do not mean Hindu *Raj*. I mean by *Ram Raj*, Divine *Raj*, the Kingdom of God.

T-2-375

For me, Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness.

T-2-375

For me the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth or the Inner Voice or the still small Voice mean one and the same thing.

TIG-29

For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence, *ahimsa*, love.

T-2-126

Immediately I arrogate to myself the exclusive title to being in the right, I usurp the function of the Deity.

XXV-442

I will not be a traitor to God to please the whole world.

MM-18

It is my conviction that the root of the evil is want of a living God.

T-4-40

It is my unmistakable belief that not a blade of grass moves but by the divine will.

T-3-347

Let me say that God will send me the plan when He gives the word as He has done before now.

T-5-224

Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation.

EWE-11

My religion is based on truth and non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realizing Him.

XXV-558

My religion says that only he who is prepared to suffer can pray to God.

T-2-152

My *varnashram* refuses to bow the head before the greatest potentate on earth, but my *varnashram* compels me to bow down my head in all humility before knowledge, purity, before every person where I see God face to face.

T-2-283

My creed is service of God and therefore of humanity.

XXV-260

My faith runs so very much faster than my reason that I can challenge the whole world and say, 'God is, was and ever shall be.'

TIG-13

My fast is a matter between God and myself.

T-2-150

My firm belief is that He reveals Himself daily to every human being but we shut our ears to the still small Voice.

TIG-34

My imperfections and failures are as much a blessing from God as my successes and my talents, and I lay them both at His feet.

T-5-291

Since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is.

T-2-313

The life of the millions is my politics, from which I dare not free myself without denying my life-work and God.

MM-103

The purer I try to become, the nearer I feel to be to God.

T-2-314

To me Truth is God and there is no way to find Truth except the way of non-violence.

T-2-236

To me God is truth and love, God is ethics and morality, God is fearlessness.

XXVI-224

What God may have enabled me to do is but a repayment of debt, and he who repays a debt deserves no praise.

T-4-257

What I want to achieve, what I have been striving and pining for these thirty years, is self-realization, that is, to see God face to face.

T-2-217

With me the connection between the cosmic phenomena and human behaviour is a living faith that draws me nearer to God, humbles me and makes me readier for facing Him.

T-3-251

You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God, and I am dead.

TIG-35

A fear-stricken person can never know God, and one who knows God will never fear a mortal man.

T-2-304

A mind not set on God is given to wandering and lacks the quality of a temple of worship.

MM-74

Ahimsa in theory, no one knows. It is as indefinable as God.

T-5-248

All of us with one voice call one God differently as *Parmatma*, *Ishwara*, *Shiva*, *Vishnu*, *Rama*, *Allah*, *Khuda*, *Dada-Hormuzda*, *Jehova*, God and an infinite variety of names.

TIG-12

A personal selfish prayer is bad whether made before an image or an unseen God.

TIG-90

All religions enjoined worship of the One God who was all-pervasive. He was present even in a drop of water or in a tiny speck of dust.

T-7-115

All the dry ethics of the world turn to dust because apart from God they are lifeless.

MM-72

All the religions of the world describe God pre-eminently as the Friend of the friendless, Help of the helpless, and Protector of the weak.

T-3-192

A *satyagrahi* should have a living faith in God.

T-5-92

As soon as we become one with the ocean in the shape of God, there is no more rest for us, nor indeed do we need rest any longer.

TIG-141

Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man.

MM-110

Before the throne of the Almighty, man will be judged not by his acts, but by his intentions.

T-5-256

Buddha emphasized and redeclared the eternal and unalterable existence of the moral government of this universe. He unhesitatingly said that the law was God Himself.

T-2-293

Calling them *devadasis* we insult God Himself in the name of religion.

T-2-280

Celibacy is a great help, inasmuch as it enables one to lead a life of full surrender to God.

XXV-152

Conversion without a clean heart is a denial of God and religion.

T-4-79

Cowardice is not a sign of belief in God.

T-4-252

"Do not worry in the least about yourself, leave all worry to God" this appears to be the commandment in all religions.

MOG-19

Even the atheists, who have pretended to disbelieve in God, have believed in Truth.

T-3-294

Fight if you must on the path of righteousness and God will be with you.

MM-206

He is no God who merely satisfies the intellect, if He ever does.

T-2-313

He who has a living faith in God will not do evil deeds with the name of God on his lips.

T-4-252

He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by a living faith.

T-2-313

If we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever that language be.

T-7-110

If we will take care of today, God will take care of the morrow.

T-2-65

If you have faith in the cause and the means and in God, the hot sun will be cool for you.

T-2-182

In a strictly scientific sense God is at the bottom of both good and evil.

TIG-25

In His boundless love God permits the atheist to live.

XXVI-224

In the *Gita* continuous concentration on God is the king of sacrifices.

T-2-311

Its unadulterated belief in the oneness of God and a practical application of the truth of the brotherhood of man for those who are nominally within its fold are two distinctive contributions of Islam.

T-2-341

It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God.

T-2-85

It is impossible that God, who is the God of Justice, could have made the distinctions that men observe today in the name of religion.

T-3-236

It is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent.

T-2-312

It needs more than a heart of oak to shed all fear except the fear of God.

T-4-33

It was manly and dignified to rely upon God for the dissolution of all troubles. He was the only infallible help, guide and friend.

T-8-97

Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man.

MM-60

Living faith in God means acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind.

T-4-252

Meditation is waiting on God.

XXV-515

Never own defeat in a sacred cause and make up your minds henceforth that you will be pure and that you will find a response from God.

TIG-58

Non-violence succeeds only when we have a real living faith in God.

T-5-104

Non-violence is an attribute of the Almighty whose ways of fulfilling Himself are inscrutable.

T-6-12

Man alone is made in the image of God.

MM-424

Man can only conceive God within the limitations of his own mind.

TIG-45

Man can only describe God in his own poor language.

TIG-45

Man can only try and perish in the attempt. God is all in all. We are only zeros.

T-7-385

Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may be described as being made in the image of God but is far from being God.

T-7-73

Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God.

TIG-98

Man should earnestly desire the well-being of all God's creation and pray that we may have the strength to do so.

MM-434

No man has ever been able to describe God fully. The same holds true of *ahimsa*.

T-7-73

The man who eats to live, who is friends with the five powers—earth, water, ether, sun and air—and who is a servant of God, the Creator of all these, ought not to fall ill.

MM-394

The man who fears man falls from the estate of man. Fear God alone.

T-2-302

When a man fasts, it is not the gallons of water he drinks that sustains him, but God.

T-8-108

When a man wants to make up with his Maker, he does not consult a third party.

T-2-150

A man cannot serve God and Mammon, nor be 'temperate and furious' at the same time.

MM-137

A man of faith does not bargain or stipulate with God.

XXV-88

A man of God never strives after untruth and therefore he can never lose hope.

XXV-188

A man who is intentionally unarmed relies upon the Unseen Force called God by poets, but called the Unknown by scientists.

MM-115

A man with a grain of faith in God never loses hope, because he ever believes in the ultimate triumph of Truth.

XXV-188

A man who throws himself on God ceases to fear man.

T-2-369

A person who believes in non-violence believes in a living God. He cannot accept defeat.

T-5-16

Of all the myriads of God, *Daridranarayana* is the most sacred inasmuch as it represents the untold millions of the poor people as distinguished from the few rich people.

T-2-377

One is ever young in the felt presence of the God of Truth, or Truth which is God.

T-5-71

One may banish the word "God" from the Congress but one has no power to banish the Thing Itself.

XXV-224

One who would serve will not waste a thought upon his own comforts, which he leaves to be attended to or neglected by his Master on high.

MOG-21

Often does good come out of evil. But that is God's, not man's plan.

TIG-141

Our prayer is a heart search. It is a reminder to ourselves that we are helpless without His support.

TIG-44

Outward appearance was nothing to Him if it was not an expression of the inner.

T-7-50

Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

TIG-55

Punishment is God's. He alone is the infallible Judge.

T-4-299

Rama, Allah and God are to me convertible terms.

XXVI-28

Religion all the world over offered God as the solace and comfort for all in agony.

T-2-212

Religion was entirely a personal matter. Each one could approach his Creator as he liked.

T-8-51

Satyagraha is search for Truth, and God is Truth.

XXV-489

Search for Truth is search for God. Truth is God. God is because Truth is.

T-3-293

Seeing God face to face is to feel that He is enthroned in our hearts even as a child feels a mother's affection without needing any demonstration.

TIG-92

Shraddha means self-confidence and self-confidence means faith in God.

XXV-88

Surely, conscience is but a poor and laborious paraphrase of the simple combination of three letters called God.

XXVI-224

Surely, conversion is a matter between man and his Maker who alone knows His creatures' hearts.

T-4-79

Imperialism is a negation of God. It does not ungodly acts in the name of God.

XXV-19

That which impels man to do the right is God.

XXVI-571

That which makes man the mere plaything of fate is God.

XXVI-571

Undoubtedly, prayer requires a living faith in God. Successful *satyagraha* is inconceivable without that faith.

T-7-95

The art of dying bravely and with honour does not need any special training, save a living faith in God.

MM-302

The eternal duel between Ormuzd and Ahriman, God and Satan, is raging in my breast, which is one among their billion battlefields.

XXV-450

The giddy heights which man's ingenuity is attempting take us away from our Maker, who is nearer to us than the nails are to the flesh which they cover.

T-5-175

The idol in the temple is not God. But since God resides in every atom, He resides in an idol.

T-3-219

The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives even of those who may be called opponents.

MM-114

The Law and the Lawgiver are one.

T-2-313

The Law is God. Anything attributed to Him is not a mere attribute. He is Truth, Love, Law and a million things that human ingenuity can name.

T-3-250

The Law which governs all life is God.

T-2-313

The non-violent man automatically becomes a servant of God.

T-4-257

The power we call God defies description.

TIG-45

There are innumerable definitions of God because His manifestations are innumerable.

MM-42

There can be in the eyes of God no distinction between man and man, even as there is no distinction between animal and animal.

T-3-335

There is only one God for us all, whether we find him through the *Koran*, the *Zend-Avesta*, the *Tolmud*, or the *Gita*.

T-2-69

There was no greater spellbinder of peace than the name of God.

T-7-41

The sky may be overcast today with clouds, but a fervent prayer to God is enough to dispel them.

T-4-29

The sum of all that lives is God.

XXVI-571

The sum total of all that lives is God. We may not be God but we are of God even as a little drop of water is of the ocean.

TIG-92

The sum total of *karma* is God.

XXVI-571

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal.

TIG-84

The turning of the *charkha* in a lifeless way will be like the turning of the beads of the rosary with a wandering mind turned away from God.

T-5-242

The *Vedas* are as indefinable as God and Hinduism.

T-3-181

This belief in God has to be based on faith which transcends reason.

MM-54

This feeling of helplessness in us has really arisen from our deliberate dismissal of God from our common affairs.

XX-137

Though God may be Love, God is Truth above all.

T-3-144

Though philosophical Hinduism has no other god but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising as Islam.

T-2-341

To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages.

T-2-63

To bear all kinds of tortures without a murmur of resentment is not possible for a human being without the strength that comes from God.

T-5-93

To reject the necessity of temples is to reject the necessity of God, religion and earthly existence.

T-3-195

To say that a single human being, because of his birth, becomes an untouchable, unapproachable or invisible is to deny God.

XXVI-373

Truth is God, and Truth overrides all our plans. The whole Truth is only embodied within the heart of Great Power—Truth.

T-7-363

Truth is the right designation of God.

TIG-21

Waiting on God means increasing purity.

XXVI-515

We do not know the laws of God, nor their working.

T-3-250

What is impossible with man is child's play with God.

T-3-137

When the neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty.

T-2-52

When you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is love, that is, non-violence.

T-3-144

When we fear God, then we shall fear no man, however high-placed he may be.

MM-308

Where love is, there God is also.

MM-418

Who is there in the world who can insult the God in the image?

T-2-261

Without living Truth, God is nowhere.

T-8-270

Without an unreserved surrender to His grace, complete mastery over thoughts is impossible.

MM-276

You are not going to know the meaning of God or prayer unless you reduce yourself to a cipher.

T-5-149

You will find that God is always by the side of the fearless.

T-7-273

You will not pit one word of God against another word of God.

T-4-138

GOLD

If gold were as easily available as iron, it would not for all its glitter have the same value that it has today.

XXV-298

Not all our gold and jewellery could satisfy our hunger and quench our thirst.

T-4-22

A regenerate outgrows the original taint, even as purified gold outgrows the original alloy.

T-4-76

GOLDEN RULE

"Judge not lest ye be judged" is a golden rule.

XXV-463

GOOD—GOODNESS

The good that man does is more often than not better left unsaid.

MM-12

Although evil seemed at times to rule the world, the eternal truth was that the world lived so long as goodness resided even in one person.

T-7-377

In a strictly scientific sense God is at the bottom of both good and evil.

TIG-25

Religion taught us to return good for evil.

T-8-120

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right and wrong, or good and evil.

TIG-66

My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of *satyagraha* and not at all to describe how good I am.

T-2-217

A drop torn from the ocean perishes without doing any good.

T-7-343

GOONDAS

Goondas flourish only in the midst of timid people.

T-5-282

It is we who make the *goondas*. Without our sympathy and passive support, *goondas* would have no legs to stand upon.

T-8-102

It is a part of the struggle for liberty, if it is non-violent, to reclaim even the *goondas*, whether they are to be found among the people or those in authority.

T-5-48

Intolerance is a form of *goondaism*. It is no less disgraceful than savagery.

T-7-396

My whole soul rises against the very idea of the custody of my religion passing into the hands of *goondas*.

XXV-169

GOVT.—GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

A government builds its prestige upon the apparently voluntary associaton of the governed.

T-2-45

A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and hungry millions persists.

MM-257

Government of the people by the people and for the people cannot be conducted at the bidding of one man, however great he may be.

MM-346

Our non-violence in respect of the Government is a result of our incapacity for effective violence.

T-5-187

The schools and colleges are really a factory for turning out clerks for Government.

T-2-13

Civil disobedience is not only the natural right of a people, especially when they have no effective vioce in their own Government, but that it is also a substitute for violence or armed rebellion.

T-3-154

I have not hesitated to call the system of Government under which we are labouring 'satanic' and I withdraw naught out of it.

T-2-200

The nation's non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms, as is every nation's right and every good government's duty.

T-2-46

What crimes, for which we condemn the Government as satanic, have we not been guilty of towards our own untouchable brethren?

T-2-36

Under my plan, the state will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or to force them to do its will.

T-7-48

Every person in a well-ordered state is fully conscious of both his responsibility and his rights.

XXV-420

The stability of State depends upon the readiness of every citizen to subordinate his rights to those of the rest.

XXV-420

No matter what the cause was and wherever it was, Indian governments must never requisition the services of British soldiers to deal with civil disturbances.

T-7-359

Do not concentrate on showing the misdeeds of the government, for we have to convert and befriend those who run it.

T-5-265

Originally there could be none in a close monopoly organisation like the Government of India.

T-7-56

GRAVE

We shall dig our own grave if we do not purge ourselves of this curse of untouchability.

T-3-233

GRAVITATION

The law of love will work just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not.

T-3-11

GREATNESS

The greatest to be great has to be lowliest by choice.

MM-381

True greatness in the world is not found set upon a hill for the vulgar crowd to see.

MM-474

God alone is the judge of true greatness because He knows men's hearts.

MM-474

God is Light, not darkness, God is Love, not hate, God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is great.

XXV-479

H

HANDICRAFT

He who runs may see, if he would also think, that the future lies with handicraftsmanship.

XIV-465

HANDSOME

Handsome is not he who is handsomely clothed; handsome is he who handsome does.

XXVI-258

HANUMAN

Rama was not only on the lips of Hanuman, He was enthroned in his heart. He gave Hanuman exhaustless strength.

TIG-48

HAPPINESS

True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.

TIG-109

HARIJAN

Harijan service is a duty the caste Hindus owe to themselves.

T-3-203

It is absurd for a single individual to talk of taking all Harijans with himself. Are they all bricks that they be moved from one structure to another ?

T-4-97

HASTE

The principle of *ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody.

TIG-36

HATE—HATRED

Hatred is not essential for nationalism. Race hatred will kill the national spirit.

T-2-200

The hater hates not for the sake of hatred but because he wants to drive away from his country the hated being or beings.

T-7-67

Hatred can be overcome only by love. Counter-hatred only increases the surface as well as the depth of hatred.

T-7-144

My freedom from hatred—I would even claim for myself individually, my love—of those who consider themselves to be my enemies does not make me blind to their faults.

T-2-195

I would rather drown myself in the waters of the Sabarmati than harbour hate or animosity in my heart.

XXV-89

The world is weary of hate. We see the fatigue overcoming the Western nations.

T-2-199

Harshness is conquered by gentleness, hatred by love, lethargy by zeal and darkness by light.

XIV-402

Retaliation is counter-poison, and poison breeds more poison. The nectar of Love alone can destroy the poison of hate.

T-5-241

It is a heavy downpour of rain which drenches the soil to fulness, likewise only a profuse shower of love overcomes hatred.

XIV-402

Non-co-operation is not a hymn of hate.

T-2-2

Our struggle consists in showing that our non-violence is neither a cloak to hide our violence or hatred, nor a preparation for violence in the near or distant future.

T-6-4

HEALTH

It is health which is real wealth, not pieces of silver and gold.

MM-201

A diseased person has a prospect of getting well by personal effort. He cannot borrow health from others.

T-5-204

HELPLESSNESS

It is the privilege of arms to protect the weak and helpless.

T-7-258

Your trouble is not numerical inferiority but the feeling of helplessness that has seized you and the habit of depending on others.

T-7-255

Even a bloody way is better than utter helplessness and unmanliness.

T-2-235

HIMALAYAS

The Himalayas are spotlessly snow-white in virtue of the spotless glory of the countless sages who laid down their lives performing penance in their caves.

T-2-261

If I could persuade myself that I could find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately.

TIG-35

HINDI

Highly Sanskritized Hindi is as avoidable as Persianized Urdu.

T-2-208

HINDU—HINDUISM

Hinduism dies if untouchability lives, and untouchability has to die if Hinduism is to live.

T-3-183

Hinduism does not rest on the authority of one book or one prophet, nor does it possess a common creed like the *Kalma*.

XXV-516

Hinduism had absorbed the best of all the faiths of the world and in that sense Hinduism was not an exclusive religion.

T-8-120

Hinduism has become a conservative religion and, therefore, a mighty force because of the *swadeshi* spirit underlying it.

MM-410

Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability.

T-2-36

Hinduism is not a codified religion.

T-2-285

Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets in the world.

MM-92

Hinduism loses its right to make a universal appeal if it closes its temples to the Harijans.

T-3-195

Hinduism with its message of *ahimsa* is to me the most glorious religion in the world.

MM-93

Hinduism would not have been much of a religion if Rama had not steeled his heart against every temptation.

T-2-150

Buddha never rejected Hinduism, but he broadened its base. He gave it a new life and a new interpretation.

T-2-292

Cow preservation is an article of faith in Hinduism.

T-3-290

Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world.

T-2-51

The *Vedas* are as indefinable as God and Hinduism.

T-3-181

If God gives me the privilege of dying for this Hinduism of my conception, I shall have sufficiently died for the unity of all and even for Swaraj.

T-3-187

If I know Hinduism at all, it is essentially inclusive and ever-growing, ever-responsive. It gives the freest scope to imagination, speculation and reason.

XXV-178

I have nothing of the communalist in me, because my Hinduism is all inclusive.

T-3-187

I know of no system other than Hinduism under which a class has been set apart from generation to generation for the exclusive pursuit of divine knowledge and consigned to voluntary poverty.

T-3-195

I know that Buddhism is to Hinduism what Protestantism is to Roman Catholicism, only in much stronger light, in a much greater degree.

T-2-352

I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

T-5-271

I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived.

T-3-128

My Hindu instinct tells me that all religions are more or less true.

T-2-132

My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish even under the most adverse influence.

T-2-151

My life is dedicated to the service of Indians through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

T-2-6

My respectful study of other religions has not abated my reverence for or my faith in the Hindu scriptures.

T-2-230

My whole soul rebels against the idea that Hinduism and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines.

T-5-271

Men like me feel that untouchability is no integral part of Hinduism, it is an excrescence.

T-3-183

Only my death will determine whether I am 'Mohamed Gandhi', Jinnah's slave, destroyer of the Hindu religion or its true servant and protector.

T-7-370

The more I study the Hindu scriptures, and the more I discuss them with Brahmins, the more I feel convinced that untouchability is the greatest blot upon Hinduism.

T-3-196

Idolatry is permissible in Hinduism when it subserves an ideal.

T-2-78

If we would be pure, if we would save Hinduism, we must rid ourselves of this poison of enforced widowhood.

T-2-227

If Hinduism teaches hatred of Islam or of non-Hindus, it is doomed to destruction.

XXV-137

The removal of untouchability is a question of the purification of Hinduism.

T-2-342

The untouchability of Hinduism is probably worse than that of the modern imperialists.

XXV-397

Untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. It is a canker eating into its vitals.

T-3-223

To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves.

XXV-479

Harijan service is a duty the caste Hindus owe to themselves.

T-3-203

The most distinctive and the largest contribution of Hinduism to India's culture is the doctrine of *ahimsa*.

T-2-341

For Hindus to expect Islam, Christianity or Zoroastrianism to be driven out of India is as idle a dream as it would be for Mussalmans to have only Islam of their imagination rule the world.

XXV-179

There is as much need for a change of heart among the Hindus and Mussalmans as there is among the British before a proper settlement is arrived at.

XXVI-233

So long as untouchability disfigures Hinduism, so long do I hold the attainment of Swaraj to be an utter impossibility.

T-2-183

Though philosophical Hinduism has no other god but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising as Islam.

T-2-341

Touch-me-notism that disfigures the present day Hinduism is a morbid growth.

T-3-257

In Hinduism we have got an admirable foot-rule to measure every *shastra* and every rule of conduct, and that is truth.

T-2-285

It is impossible to wait and weigh in golden scales the sentiments of prejudice and superstition that have gathered round the priests who are considered to be the custodians of Hinduism.

T-2-286

All the four stages in a man's life are devised by the seers in Hinduism for imposing discipline and self-restraint.

XXVI-375

Being dissatisfied and properly dissatisfied with the husk of Hinduism, you are in danger of losing even the kernel, life itself.

T-2-283

Non-violence which to me is the glory of Hinduism, has been sought to be explained away by our people as being meant for the *sanyasis* only.

T-7-272

No stone should be left unturned to bring home to the family members that untouchability is a sin and a blot on Hinduism.

T-4-158

The scriptures of Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus are all replete with the teaching of *ahimsa*.

XXV-521

The only way Hinduism can convert the whole world to cow-protection is by giving an object-lesson in cow-protection and all it means.

XXV-436

Hindu religious literature, indeed all religious literature, is full of illustrations to prove the truth.

XXVI-158

Hindus, if they want unity among different races, must have the courage to trust the minorities.

T-2-133

Dining and marriage restrictions stunt Hindu society.

T-3-180

The only way by which you and I can wean orthodox Hindus from their bigotry is by patient argument and correct conduct.

XXV-514

The sacred thread and the tuft of hair without a pure heart and a spirit of toleration did not make a Hindu.

T-7-413

Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion.

MM-299

A Swaraj government means a government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Mussalmans and others.

XXV-478

By *Ram Raj*, I do not mean Hindu *Raj*. I mean by *Ram Raj*, Divine *Raj*, the Kingdom of God. For me, Ram and Rahim are one and the same deity.

T-2-375

Use truth as your anvil, non-violence as your hammer and anything that does not stand the test when it is brought to the anvil of truth and hammered with *ahimsa*, reject as non-Hindu.

XXVI-374

HISTORY

History is a record of perpetual wars, but we are now trying to make new history.

T-4-165

History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul.

MM-419

I disbelieve history so far as details of acts of heroes are concerned.

XXVI-491

I positively refuse to judge men from the scanty material furnished to us by history.

XXVI-491

Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life if there had been no risks?

MM-166

History supplies numerous instances to prove that the brute force is as nothing before soul force.

MM-334

The history of Islam, if it betrays aberrations from the moral height, has many a brilliant page.

T-2-124

History is replete with instances of men who by dying with courage and compassion on their lips converted the hearts of their violent opponents.

T-3-3

HITLER

Herr Hitler is awake all the twenty-four hours of the day in perfecting his *sadhana*.

T-5-291

Rightly or wrongly, and irrespective of what the other powers have done before under similar circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war.

T-5-162

HONESTY

Honesty has never been so much proved to be the best policy as it is now for those who do not or cannot back their dishonesty with gun powder and poison gas.

T-4-269

Where there is honest effort, it will be realized that what appear to be different truths are like the countless and apparently different leaves of the same tree.

TIG-21

The only real reliable guarantee for *khadi* would be the honesty, truthfulness and sincerity of *khadi* workers.

T-7-20

HOPE

The method of *satyagraha* requires that the *satyagrahi* should never lose hope, so long as there is the slightest ground left for it.

T-5-235

HOSTILITY

Differences of opinion should never mean hostility.

MM-10

HUMAN DIGNITY

It is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine.

T-5-9

HUMAN FAMILY

Once we recognize the common parent stock from which we are all sprung, we realize the basic unity of the human family, and there is no room left for enmities and unhealthy competition.

T-5-16

HUMANITY

I am endeavouring to see God through service of humanity, for I know that God is neither in heaven nor down below, but in every one.

TIG-5

I hold that proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy.

TIG-69

What... does Jesus mean to me? To me, He was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had.

TIG-79

HUMAN NATURE

Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal.

T-4-279

Dignity of human nature requires that we must face the storms of life.

T-3-130

Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature.

TIG-144

HUMILITY

True humility means most strenuous and constant endeavour entirely directed to the service of humanity.

TIG-140

Non-violence is impossible without humility.

T-5-12

Truth without humility would be an arrogant caricature.

TIG-33

I am gifted with enough humility to look even to babes and sucklings for help.

T-3-60

HUNGER

Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel.

T-2-63

Not all our gold and jewellery could satisfy our hunger and quench our thirst.

T-4-22

A science to be science must afford the fullest scope for satisfying the hunger of body, mind and soul.

T-4-119

HUNGER-STRIKE

A hunger-strike loses its force and dignity, when it has any, if the striker is forcibly fed.

T-5-156

Hunger-strike has become such a nuisance that it will be as well for the committee to adopt measures to check it before it assumes dangerous proportions.

T-5-156

HYPOCRISY

Hypocrisy and distortion are passing currents under the name of religion.

T-7-128

Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy, as they undoubtedly are today.

T-3-301

Hypocrisy has acted as an ode to virtue but it could never take its place.

T-7-67

Nakedness is itself a virtue as distinguished from hypocrisy.

T-7-193

I

IDEAL

The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realize it.

T-5-174

The ideal must not be lowered because of our weaknesses or imperfections.

T-4-33

An ideal sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain; the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

T-2-333

The virtue of an ideal consists in its boundlessness.

MM-874

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment we want to multiply his daily wants.

MM-490

IDLENESS

Idleness is the great plague of India.

XXV-601

IDOL—IDOLATRY

The idol in the temple is not God. But since God resides in every atom, He resides in an idol.

T-3-219

Idols became what the devotees made of or imputed to them.

T-7-50

I am both an idolator and an iconoclast in what I conceive to be the true senses of the terms.

TIG-87

When image worship degenerates into idolatry and becomes encrusted with false beliefs and doctrines, it becomes a necessity to combat it as a gross social evil.

T-2-366

Idolatry is permissible in Hinduism when it subserves an ideal.

T-2-78

IGNORANCE

Age-hardened ignorance cannot yield to a few months' object-lessons.

T-4-26

My greatest worry is the ignorance and poverty of the masses of India and the way in which they have been neglected by the classes, especially the neglect of the Harijans by the Hindus.

T-4-102

ILLITERACY

Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated.

EWE-29

IMITATION

No country can become a nation by producing a race of imitators.

EWE-9

IMMORAL

It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink.

XXV-474

Not even self-immolation can be allowed to support a bad or an immoral cause.

XXV-442

I call the Lancashire trade immoral because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants.

XXV-474

IMMORTAL

Science has not so far discovered any recipe for making the body immortal.

TIG-113

IMPATIENCE

Impatience will blur the revolutionary's vision and lead him astray.

XXVI-141

If we must be impatient, we must be impatient with ourselves, not with the wrongdoer.

XXVI-295

IMPERIALISTS—IMPERIALISM

The greatest menace to the world today is the growing, exploiting, irresponsible imperialism.

XXV-19

Violent nationalism, otherwise known as imperialism, is a curse.

XXV-369

Between the two, the nationalist and the imperialist, there is no meeting ground.

T-5-238

Imperialism is a negation of God. It does ungodly acts in the name of God.

XXV-19

No empire intoxicated with the red wine of power and plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world.

T-2-90

The untouchability of Hinduism is probably worse than that of the modern imperialists.

XXV-397

IMPOSITION

Legal imposition avoids the necessity of honour or good faith.

XXVI-162

IMPOSSIBLE

We are daily witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday becoming the possible of today.

XXVI-68

IMPRESSION

What passes for facts is only the impressions or estimates of things, and estimates vary.

T-7-209

INDEPENDENCE

I want for India complete independence in the full English sense of that English term.

T-3-299

Independence means voluntary restraints and discipline, voluntary acceptance of the rule of law.

T-8-100

Independence of my conception means nothing less than the realisation of the "Kingdom of God" within you and on this earth.

MM-314

Complete independence does not mean arrogant isolation or a superior disdain for all help.

T-3-7

When the real independence comes to India, the Congress and the League will be nowhere unless they represent the real opinion of the country.

T-5-256

The fire of independence is burning just as bright in my breast as in the most fiery breast in this country, but ways and methods differ.

T-2-334

Personally I crave not for 'independence', which I do not understand, but I long for freedom from the English yoke.

T-2-326

We cannot have real independence unless the people banish the touchme-not spirit from their hearts.

T-4-1

We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection and patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend.

T-2-32

If it is man's privilege to be independent, it is equally his duty to be inter-dependent.

T-2-361

Only an arrogant man will claim to be independent of everybody else and to be self-contained.

T-2-361

Civil disobedience can never be in general terms, such as for independence.

T-6-31

Swaraj means, even under dominion status, a capacity to declare independence at will.

T-2-240

Mass civil disobedience was for the attainment of independence.

T-7-34

INDIA—INDIANS

India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity.

MM-335

India is essentially a *karmabhumi* (land of duty) in contradistinction to *bhogabhumi* (land of enjoyment).

MM-335

India has the right, if she only knew, of becoming the predominant partner by reason of her numbers, geographical position and culture inherited for ages.

T-2-327

India has an unbroken tradition of non-violence from time immemorial.

MM-335

India must protect her primary industries even as a mother protects her children against the whole world without being hostile to it.

XXV-369

India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning wheel.

T-2-38

India will not be a helpless partner in her own exploitation and foreign domination.

T-5-252

India unarmed would not require to be destroyed through poison gas or bombardment.

T-5-178

India is one vast prison with high walls of suppression clothing her mind and her body.

T-4-185

India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before.

T-2-100

If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim verity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

T-7-169

An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.

MM-335

An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity.

T-2-46

An India free from exploitation from within and without must prosper with astonishing rapidity.

T-3-72

For India to enter into the race for armaments is to court suicide.

T-5-178

If India is not to declare spiritual bankruptcy, religious instruction of its youth must be held to be at least as necessary as secular instruction.

EWE-30

If India takes up the doctrine of sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart.

T-2-6

On India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races of the earth.

MM-335

If India becomes the slave of the machine, then, I say, heaven save the world.

MM-404

India's freedom must revolutionise the world's outlook upon Peace and War.

MM-316

India's freedom will not be won by violence but only by the purest suffering without retaliation.

XXV-277

In India there is a common saying that the way to Swaraj is through Mandalay.*

T-2-355

India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial.

T-2-6

India's coming to her own will mean every nation doing likewise.

T-2-327

India's way is not Europe's. India is not Calcutta and Bombay. India lives in her seven hundred thousand villages.

XXVI-286

Whatever else India may not be, she is at least one thing. She is the greatest storehouse of spiritual knowledge.

XXVI-333-4

For a fallen India to aspire to move the world and protect the weaker races is seemingly an impertinence.

T-2-327

Let India become alive by self-purification, that is self-restraint and self-denial, and she will be a boon to herself and mankind.

T-2-56

In a self-respecting India, is not every woman's virtue as much every man's concern as his own sister's?

T-2-51

In the true democracy of India, the unit is the village.

MM-340

I do not want India to rise on the ruin of other nations.

XXVI-279

I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment.

T-2-5

I would rather have India without education, if that is the price to be paid for making it dry.

T-2-280

I would far rather that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth.

T-3-113

I would like to bury myself in an Indian village, preferably in a Frontier village.

T-3-299

I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

T-2-4

* Mandalay in Burma where Indian leaders gaoled by British authorities were kept in the old palace serving as a gaol. Lokamanya B.G. Tilak was imprisoned at Mandalay during 1908-14.

I would rather have India reduced to a state of pauperism than have thousands of drunkards in our midst.

T-2-280

I would not flinch from sacrificing even a million lives for India's liberty.

T-3-152

Through realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man.

T-2-253

I want India to come to her own and that state cannot be better defined by any single word than Swaraj.

T-2-327

Freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near.

T--27

To gain India's freedom, the capacity for suffering must go hand in hand with the capacity for ceaseless labour.

T-4-285

I want for India complete independence in the full English sense of that English term.

T-3-299

I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables for the sake of winning the freedom of India.

T-3-128

I can neither serve God nor humanity if as an Indian I do not serve India, and as a Hindu I do not serve the Indian Mussalmans.

XXV-260

I would bend the knee before the poorest scavenger, the poorest untouchable in India for having participated in crushing him for centuries; I would even take the dust off his feet.

T-3-114

My *varnashram dharma* teaches me that there must be some significance in the fact of my being born in India instead of in Europe.

XX-49

I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany, ruined and humbled?

T-5-161

I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her.

T-2-6

Even if the whole of India, ranged on one side, were to declare that Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible, I will declare that it is perfectly possible.

T-2-236

I hold too that whatever may be true of other countries, a bloody revolution will not succeed in India.

XXVI-140

I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers.

XXV-4-9

I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants.

XXV-474

I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India.

XXV-489

There is nothing on earth that I would not give up for the sake of the country, excepting, of course, two things and two only, namely, truth and non-violence.

T-2-235

If as a member of a slave nation I could deliver the suppressed classes from their slavery without freeing myself from my own, I would do so today. But it is an impossible task.

T-2-6

My nationalism is as broad as my *swadeshi*, I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit.

XXVI-27

It is my unshakable belief that India's destiny is to deliver the message of non-violence to mankind.

T-4-4

My *swadeshi* chiefly centres round the handspun *khaddar* and extends to everything that can be and is produced in India.

XXVI-279

My mission is to convert every Indian, even Englishmen and finally the world, to non-violence for regulating mutual relations, whether political, economic, social or religious.

T-5-2

My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means, for their fruit will not be freedom but slavery in disguise.

T-2-126

In my dream, in my sleep, while eating, I think of the spinning wheel. The spinning wheel is my sword. To me it is the symbol of India's liberty.

XXV-351

I have called spinning the *yajna* of this age of India.

XXVI-298

Disorder and violence were in fact the one thing that might check the pace of India's progress.

T-7-22

All I want to say, with the utmost emphasis at my command, is that the description of India as a military country is wrong.

T-5-171

Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western exploitation.

MM-315

I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her borders.

T-5-178

Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive.

T-2-64

Urbanization in India is slow but sure death for her villages and villagers.

T-3-291

The Indian struggle is not anti-British, it is anti-exploitation, anti-foreign rule, not anti-foreigners.

T-5-255

A free India will throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this.

T-5-319

The freedom of India is a bigger thing than the disease, which for the time being is corroding some portions of Indian community.

T-3-138

With the loss of India to non-violence, the last hope of the world will be gone.

T-5-179

God forbid that India should ever become a military nation, which would be a menace to the peace of the world, and yet if things went on as they were doing, what hope was there for India and, therefore, for the world?

T-7-387

If the Commander-in-Chief will look beyond the defence forces, he will discover that the real India is not military but peace-loving.

T-5-171

In the case of the Indian villager, an age-old culture is hidden under encrustment of crudeness.

MM-362

Before we can aspire to guide the destinies of India, we shall have to adopt the habit of fearlessness.

MM-308

The cottage industry of India had to perish in order that Lancashire might flourish.

T-3-71

It would be a sad day for India if it has to inherit the English scale and the English tastes so utterly unsuitable to the Indian environment.

T-2-18-19

Drink is not a fashion in India, as it is in the West.

T-2-228

The British Government in India constitutes a struggle between the modern civilization, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and the ancient civilization, which the Kingdom of God.

X-189

The unparalleled extravagance of English rule has demented the rajas and the maharajas who, unmindful of consequences, ape it and grind their subjects to dust.

T-2-327

It would be a blunder of first magnitude for the British to be a party in any way whatsoever to the division of India.

MGCG-247

It was not through the democratic methods that Britain bagged India.

T-5-277

The Britisher is the top-dog and the Indian the underdog in his own country.

T-3-71

The British power is the overlord without whom Indian princes cannot breathe.

T-5-192

The builders of the British Indian Empire have patiently built its four pillars—the European interests, the army, the Indian princes and the communal division.

T-5-237

It is derogatory to the dignity of mankind, it is derogatory to the dignity of India, to entertain for one single moment hatred towards Englishmen.

T-2-199

The collector of revenue and the policemen are the only symbols by which millions in India's villages know British rule.

T-7-215

Christianity in India is inextricably mixed up for the last hundred and fifty years with the British rule.

T-2-341

Half-a-dozen or twenty cities of India alone working together cannot bring Swaraj.

XXVI-244

Non-violent non-co-operators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India.

T-2-83

Nowhere in the world would you find such skeletons of cows and bullocks as you do in our cow-worshipping India.

XXV-518

The *charkha* in the hands of a poor widow brings a paltry price to her; in the hands of Jawaharlal, it is an instrument of India's freedom.

T-6-32

The *Charkha* is intended to realize the essential and living oneness of interest among India's myriads.

T-2-215

The socialism that India can assimilate is the socialism of the spinning wheel.

T-3-284

The *Khaddar* of my conception is that handspun cloth which entirely takes the place of mill cloth in India.

T-7-380

Khaddar has the greatest organizing power in it because it has itself to be organized and because it affects all India.

T-2-256

The spinning wheel is as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

T-2-3

Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'.

T-6-20

Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel.

T-2-63

The restoration of spinning to its central place in India's peaceful campaign for deliverance from the imperial yoke gives her women a special status.

T-5-206

The spinning wheel and the spinning wheel alone will solve, if anything will solve, the problem of the deepening poverty of India.

XXVI-292

There is no better way of industrializing the villages of India than the spinning wheel.

T-2-246

The most distinctive and the largest contribution of Hinduism to India's culture is the doctrine of *ahimsa*.

T-2-341

The fragrance of non-violence was never sweeter than it was today amidst the stink of violence of the most cowardly type that was being displayed in the cities of India.

T-8-27

The way to Indian independence lay not through the sword but through mutual friendship and adjustment.

T-7-323

Jail-going is only the beginning, not the end of *satyagraha*. The acme of *satyagraha* for us would be to lay down our lives for the defence of India's just cause.

T-7-194

The mentality which made one section of the Indians look upon another as enemies was suicidal; it could only serve to perpetuate their slavery.

T-7-352

Our non-co-operation is with the system the English have established in India, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak.

T-2-64

Nothing depends upon the death of an individual, be he ever so great, but much depends upon the freedom of India.

T-2-314

The whole of India was the home of every Indian who considered himself and behaved as such, no matter to what faith he belonged.

T-8-46

Many persons claiming different faiths make us one and an indivisible nation. All these have an equal claim to be the nationals of India.

T-8-65

The states can make the finest contribution to the building of India's future independence if they set the right example in their own territories.

T-7-174

It is the absolute right of India to misgovern herself.

T-2-201

The ideal is a synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil.

T-2-23

Unity among the different races and the different communities belonging to different religions of India is indispensable to the birth of national life.

XXVI-241

Swaraj means ability to regard every inhabitant of India as our own brother or sister.

T-2-51

Let us remember that we are all Indians eating Indian grain and salt, and living on the dumb Indian masses.

T-3-247

Final *Satyagraha* is inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

T-5-130

The West has yet to discover anything so hygienic as the Indian toothstick.

T-3-288

Idleness is the great plague of India.

XXV-601

Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated.

EWE-29

There is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.

EWE-29

Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.

EWE-24

Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing accuracy of thought.

EWE-10

If there was any teacher in the world who insisted upon the inexorable law of cause and effect, it was Gautam, and yet my friends, the Buddhists outside India, would, if they could, avoid the effects of their own acts.

T-2-293

In this, of all the countries in the world, possession of inordinate wealth by individuals should be held as a crime against Indian humanity.

T-4-174

We must break through the provincial crust if we are to reach the core of all-India nationalism.

EWE-49

The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of the manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of the Western exploiters.

T-7-46

If untouchability lives, Hinduism perishes and even India perishes, but if untouchability is eradicated from the Hindu heart root and branch, then Hinduism has a definite message for the world.

T-4-99

We Indians are one as no two Englishmen are.

X-27

The way to Indian independence lay not through the sword but through mutual friendship and adjustment.

T-7-323

INDISCIPLINE

Indiscipline will surely mean disaster, and make one like me, who is pining to see Swaraj in his lifetime, perish in sorrow and grief.

T-3-64

INDIVIDUALISM

Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle.

MM-312

INEQUALITY

The world 'inequality' has a bad odour about it, and it has led to arrogance and inhumanities, both in the East and the West.

MM-419

Diversity there certainly is in the world, but it means neither inequality nor untouchability.

T-3-230

INHERITANCE

Those sons of millionaires, who are of age and yet inherit their parent's wealth, are losers for the very inheritance.

T-4-175

INJUSTICE

To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to women.

T-3-33

Agitation against every form of injustice is the breath of political life.

T-5-225

INNER VOICE

Penances with me are no mechanical acts. They are done in obedience to the inner voice.

T-3-79

INNOCENT

The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man.

XXVI-141

For infallible guidance man has to have a perfectly innocent heart incapable of evil.

MM-70

INTERDEPENDENCE

Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society. Only a Robinson Crusoe can afford to be all self-sufficient.

MM-439

INTERNATIONALISM

Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact.

MM-436

INTOLERANCE

All criticism is not intolerance. I have criticized the revolutionary because I have felt for him. He has the same right to hold me to be in error as I believe him to be in error.

XXVI-141

Intolerance of criticism even of what one may prize as dear as life itself is not conducive to the growth of public corporate life.

T-3-64

IRON

If gold were as easily available as iron, it would not for all its glitter have the same value that it has today.

XXV-298

ISLAM

Islam stands for the unity and brotherhood of mankind, and not for disrupting the oneness of the human family.

T-7-221

Islam was born in an environment where the sword was and still remains the supreme law.

T-2-237

Islam was nothing if it did not spell complete democracy.

T-7-312

Its unadulterated belief in the oneness of God and a practical application of the truth of the brotherhood of man for those who are nominally within its fold are two distinctive contributions of Islam.

T-2-341

The history of Islam, if it betrays aberrations from the moral height, has many a brilliant page.

T-2-134

The very word Islam means peace, which is non-violence.

T-5-172

Surely Islam has nothing to fear from criticism even if it be unreasonable.

XXVI-227

Though philosophical Hinduism has no other god but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising as Islam.

T-2-341

The early Mussalmans accepted Islam not because they knew it to be revealed but because it appealed to their virgin reason.

XXVI-226

A perfect Muslim is he from whose tongue and hands mankind is safe.

T-7-309

God is not in Kaaba or in Kashi. He is within every one of us.

XXV-451

I do regard Islam to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are.

TIG-80

I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

T-5-271

I would like to say that even the teachings themselves of the *Koran* cannot be exempted from criticism.

XXVI-226

My mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch (of an 'untouchable') was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussalman passing by.

T-2-35

My whole soul rebels against the idea that Hinduism and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines.

T-5-271

J

JAPAN

The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the Allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan.

TIG-142

I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain.

T-2-380

Let no one run away with the idea that I wish to put in a defence of Japanese misdeeds in pursuance of Japan's unworthy ambition.

TIG-142

JEALOUSY

Jealousy presupposes the possibility of rivalry.

T-2-214

Bury the jealousies underground and cremate them wherever you like.

XXV-510

JOURNALISM

Journalism has become the art of "intelligent anticipation of events."

T-7-209

The sole aim of journalism should be service.

MM-479

Journalism should never be prostituted for selfish ends or for the sake of merely earning livelihood or, worse still, for amassing money.

XXVI-371

Journalism has a distinct place in familiarising and expressing public opinion.

XXVI-370

A journalist's peculiar function is to read the mind of the country and to give definite and fearless expression to that mind.

XXVI-369

The newspaperman has become a walking plague. He spreads the contagion of lies and calumnies.

T-2-238

Newspaper today had almost replaced the *Bible*, the *Koran*, the *Gita* and other religious scriptures.

T-7-314

The press was called the Fourth Estate. It was definitely a power but to misuse that power was criminal.

T-7-375

The newspapers should be read for the study of facts. They should not be allowed to kill the habit of independent thinking.

T-7-116

In the East, as in the West, the newspapers are fast becoming the people's *Bible*, the *Koran*, the *Zend-Avesta* and the *Gita* rolled into one.

T-7-209

The true function of journalism is to educate the public mind, not to stock it with wanted and unwanted impressions.

T-7-209

Freedom of the press is a precious privilege that no country can forego.

MM-480

An itch for news is a variety of dissipation, debilitating to the mind and spirit, unless it is properly curbed.

T-7-135

The liberty of the press is a dear privilege, apart from the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience.

T-6-1

The newspapers had become more important to the average man than the scriptures.

T-7-375

JOY

A life of sacrifice is the pinnacle of art, and is full of true joy.

MOG-21

JUSTICE

Justice should become cheap and expeditious. Today it is the luxury of the rich and the joy of the gambler.

T-4-182

Justice will come when it is deserved by our being and feeling strong.

T-2-240

Justice does not help the ones who slumber but helps only those who are vigilant.

XIV-177

The first condition of non-violence is justice all round, in every department of life.

T-5-278

Peace will not come out of a clash of arms but out of justice lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds.

T-5-193

It is open to a war-resister to judge between two combatants and wish success to the one who has justice on his side.

T-5-197

K

KARMA YOGA

This *dharma* in the original (*Gita*) refers to *karma yoga*, and the *karma yoga* of our age is the spinning wheel.

BUNCH-25

The biggest of *karmayogis* never gives up devotional songs or worship,

TIG-137

KHADI—KHADDAR

Khadi is the sun of the village solar system.

T-4-4

Khaddar was conceived with a much more ambitious object, that is, to make our villages starvation-proof.

T-3-292

The *khadi* spirit means fellowfeeling with every human being on earth.

T-2-281

The *khadi* spirit means also an infinite patience.

T-2-281

Khaddar delivers the poor from the bonds of the rich and creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses.

T-2-255

Khaddar does not displace a single cottage industry.

T-2-255

Khaddar brings a ray of hope to the widow's broken-up home.

T-2-256

Khaddar has the greatest organizing power in it because it has itself to be organized and because it affects all India.

T-2-256

Khaddar is an activity that can absorb all the time of all available men and women and grown-up children, if they have faith.

XXV-365

Khadi service, village service and the Harijan service are one in reality, though three in name.

T-4-39

Khadi will be the sun of the whole industrial solar system.

T-4-7

Khadi mentality means decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessities of life.

MM-406

Khadi has been conceived as the foundation and the image of *ahimsa*. A real *khadi*-wearer will not utter an untruth. A real *khadi*-wearer will harbour no violence, no deceit, no impurity.

T-4-217

I had bargained for a *khadhar* hut, but I was insulted with a *khaddar* palace.

XXV-526

I would ask you to come in *khadi*, for *khadi* links you with the fallen and the down-trodden.

T-2-269

Even if masses of people were to burn *khadi* publicly and say that it is an insane programme, I will declare that those people have gone mad.

T-2-236

My *swadeshi* chiefly centres round the hand-spun *khaddar* and extends to everything that can be and is produced in India.

XXVI-279

Khaddar of my conception is that hand-spun fabric which takes entirely the place of mill cloth in India.

T-7-380

Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'.

T-6-20

Khadi will cease to have any value in my eyes if it does not usefully employ the millions.

T-7-187

All the other industries will receive warmth and sustenance from *khadi* industry.

T-4-7

Boycott brought about anyhow of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by handspinning and *khaddar*.

XXV-475

Coal is not dear for the coal-miner who can use it there and then, nor is *khadi* dear for the villager who manufactures his own *khadi*.

T-4-3

Even as *satyagraha* is a weapon unique of its kind and not one of the ordinary weapons used by people, so is *khadi*, a unique article of commerce which will not, cannot, succeed on terms common to other articles.

T-2-282

For a firm believer in *swadeshi*, there need be no Pharisaical self-satisfaction in wearing *khadi*.

T-2-56

Handsome is not he who is handsomely clothed, handsome is he who handsome does.

XXVI-258

If we have the *khadi* spirit in us, then we would surround ourselves with simplicity in every walk of life.

T-2-281

Organization of *khaddar* is infinitely better than co-operative societies of any other form of village organization.

XXV-474

The art that is in the machine-made article, appeals only to the eye; the art in *khadi* appeals first to the heart and then to the eye.

T-3-292

The foundation of service and your real training lie in spinning *khaddar*.

XXVI-378

The *khadi* work without the mastery of the science of *khadi* will be love's labour lost in terms of Swaraj.

T-7-36

The message of *khaddar* can penetrate to the remotest villages if we only will that it shall be so.

T-2-244

The only real and reliable guarantee for *khadi* would be the honesty, truthfulness and sincerity of *khadi* workers.

T-7-20

The singular secret of *khaddar* lies in its saleability in the place of its production and use the manufacturers themselves.

T-3-293

Through *khadi* we teach the people the art of civil obedience to an institution which they have built up for themselves.

T-4-10

Without proper careful organization of the spinning wheel and *khaddar*, there is absolutely no civil disobedience.

XXVI-246

KISAN

No one asks the cultivator to take breathing exercise or to work his muscles.

MM-199

The Congress is nothing if it does not represent the *kisans*.

T-3-104

KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge without devotion will be like a misfire.

T-2-309

Knowledge and devotion, to be true have to stand the test of renunciation of the fruits of action.

T-2-309

True knowledge gives a moral standing and moral strength.

MM-368

The dry knowledge of the three R's is not even now, it can never be, a permanent part of the villagers' life.

EWE-29

Krishna of the *Gita* is perfection and right knowledge personified; but the picture is imaginary.

MOG-4

What will tell in the end will be character and not a knowledge of letters.

XXVI-294-5

Without devotion, action and knowledge are cold and dry and may even become shackles.

MOG-26

Knowledge of the tallest scientist or the greatest spiritualist is like a particle of dust.

MM-77

One rupee can purchase for us poison or nectar, but knowledge or devotion cannot buy us either salvation or bondage.

T-2-309

In order that knowledge may not run riot, the author of the *Gita* has insisted on devotion accompanying it and has given it the first place.

T-2-309

The renunciation is the central sun, round which devotion, knowledge and the rest revolve like planets.

T-2-308

My *varnashram* refuses to bow the head before the greatest potentate on earth, but my *varnashram* compels me to bow down my head in all humility before knowledge, purity, before every person where I see God face to face.

T-2-283

L

LABOUR

Capital exploits the labour of a few to multiply itself.

MM-339

Every labourer is worthy of his hire. No country can produce thousands of unpaid whole-time workers.

XXV-485

Is not labour, like learning, its own reward?

T-3-300

Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family.

MM-373

Labour was priceless, not gold.

T-8-97

Labour was a great leveller of all distinctions.

T-8-97

No labour is too mean for one who wants to earn an honest penny.

MM-204

There is a world-wide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich.

MM-199

The saving of labour of the individual should be the object and honest humanitarian considerations, and not greed, the motive.

XXV-252

Unless our hands go hand in hand with our heads, we would be able to do nothing whatsoever.

XXVI-302

Useful manual labour, intelligently performed, is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect.

MM-379

I do not regard capital to be the enemy of labour.

T-2-257

I call myself a labourer because I take pride in calling myself a spinner, weaver, farmer and scavenger.

XXVI-379

A labourer cannot sit at the table and write, but a man who has worked at the table all his life can certainly take to physical labour.

MM-205

A plea for the spinning wheel is a plea for recognizing the dignity of labour.

T-2-63

A scavenger who works in His service shares equal distinction with a king who uses his gifts in His name and as a mere trustee.

MM-202

A true and non-violent combination of labour would act like a magnet attracting to it all the needed capital.

T-8-97

A worker's capital is inexhaustible, incapable of being stolen, and bound to pay him a generous dividend all the time.

XIV-217

Each and every one of you should consider himself to be a trustee for the welfare of the rest of his fellow labourers and not be self-seeking.

T-2-297

If everybody lives by the sweat of his brow, the earth will become a paradise.

MM-200

It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt.

EWE-20

Labour, because it chose to remain unintelligent, either became subservient, or insolently believed in damaging the capitalists' goods and machinery or even in killing the capitalists.

T-8-97

Mere mental, that is, intellectual labour is for the soul and is its own satisfaction.

T-4-36

Nothing will demoralize the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

EWE-25

Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour.

EWE-20

Obedience to the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society.

MM-200

The employers ganging up against the workers is like raising an army of elephants against ants.

XX-333

The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society.

MM-271

This mad rush for wealth must cease and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery.

T-2-161

What the two hands of the labourer could achieve, the capitalist would never get with all his gold and silver.

T-7-33

Where there are millions upon millions of units of idle labour, it is no use thinking of the labour-saving devices.

T-4-24

LANGUAGE

A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

EWE-13

Language is at best an imperfect medium of expression. No man can fully express in words what he feels or thinks.

T-7-145

The language of a people who produce hard workers, literary experts, businessmen and enterprising persons spreads and is enriched.

T-7-51

It is rarely that language succeeds as a vehicle of thought. More often than not it conceals thought. Always language circumscribes thought.

XX-5

There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas.

EWE-12

Man can only describe God in his own poor language.

TIG-45

If we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever that language be.

T-7-110

What we start receiving education through our own language, our relations in the home will take on a different character.

XIV-20

LAW

The law which governs all life is God.

T-2-313

The law is God. Anything attributed to Him is not a mere attribute. He is Truth, Love, Law and a million things that human ingenuity can name.

T-3-250

The Law and the Lawgiver are one.

T-2-313

Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law.

T-2-100

The laws of nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of Nature's law.

MM-77

A *satyagrahi* cannot go to law for a personal wrong.

XXV-163

Where death without resistance or death after resistance is the only way, neither party should think of resorting to law-courts or help from government.

XXV-138

The recognition of the golden rule of never taking the law into one's own hands has no exceptions.

T-8-103

Independence meant voluntary restraint and discipline, voluntary acceptance of the rule of law.

T-8-100

When there is war, the poet lays down the lyre, the lawyer his law reports, the schoolboy his books.

T-2-62

LEADERS

An institution that suffers from a plethora of leaders is surely in a bad way.

T-7-218

LEARNING

Learning takes us through many stages in life but it fails us utterly in the hours of danger and temptation.

XXVI-28

Is not labour, like learning, its own reward?

T-3-300

Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind.

MM-377

In a democratic scheme, money invested in the promotion of learning gives a ten-fold return to the people, even as a seed sown in good soil returns a luxuriant crop.

T-8-165

LEGISLATURES

Truth and non-violence are both the means and the end, and given the right type of men, the legislatures can be the means of achieving the concrete pursuit of truth and non-violence.

T-4-161

LIBERATION

All the Indian scriptures have certainly preached incessantly liberation as an immediate aim, but we know that this preaching has not resulted in "activity in the lower worlds" being abandoned.

X-247

LIBERTY

Liberty is a dearly bought commodity and prisons are factories where it is manufactured.

XXV-212

Liberty never meant the licence to do anything at will.

T-8-100

A rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the rose of liberty that I want and not the artificial product.

T-3-129

We dare not enter the kingdom of liberty with mere lip homage to truth and non-violence.

T-2-85

No power on earth could resist the lovers of liberty who were ready not to kill opponents, but be killed by them.

T-7-326

Individual liberty is allowed to man only to a certain extent. He cannot forget that he is a social being and his individual liberty has to be curtailed at every step.

T-5-120

Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society.

T-7-37

The one condition for fighting for peace and liberty is to acquire self-restraint.

XXVI-45

In my dream, in my sleep, while eating, I think of the spinning wheel. The spinning wheel is my sword. To me it is the symbol of India's liberty.

XXV-351

LIFE

A life without vows is like a ship without an anchor or like an edifice that is built on sand instead of a solid rock.

T-2-364

Life is greater than all art.

MM-56

Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy.

T-8-205

Life is an aspiration. Its mission is to strive after perfection which is self-realization.

T-4-33

A life of sacrifice is the pinnacle of art, and is full of true joy.

MOG-21

Human life is a series of compromises, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory.

MM-39

Our life is a long and arduous quest after Truth, and the soul requires inward restfulness to attain its full height.

TIG-61

The music of life is in danger of being lost in the music of the voice.

T-7-27

A true life lived amongst the people is in itself an object-lesson that must produce its own effect upon immediate surroundings.

MM-366

What is life worth without trials and tribulations which are the salt of life.

T-3-4

The Enlightened One has told you in never-to-be-forgotten words that this little span of life is but a passing shadow, a fleeting thing.

T-2-295

I believe in God, not as a theory but as a fact more real than that of life itself.

XXVI-233

I want to realize brotherhood or identity not merely with the beings called human, but I want to realize identity with all life, even with such beings as crawl on earth.

T-2-253

If I were over full of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not take my brother's.

X-30

My *dharma* teaches me to give my life for the sake of others without even attempting to kill.

XXV-437

My faith in truth and non-violence is ever growing, and as I am ever trying to follow them in my life, I too am growing every moment.

T-4-154

My religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life.

T-2-353

Let the *Gita* be to you a mine of diamonds, as it has been to me, let it be your constant guide and friend on life's way.

T-2-307

Domestic matters are trifles for us. But they occupy the principal part of my life. They teach me to know my limitations.

XXV-302

The only praise I would like and treasure is the promotion of the activities to which my life is dedicated.

T-5-176

The first condition of non-violence is justice all round, in every department of life.

T-5-278

Absolute calm is not the law of ocean. And it is the same with the ocean of life.

T-7-190

Healthy, well-informed, balanced criticism is the ozone of public life.

T-4-206

If love was not the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death.

TIG-18

It is as clear to me as daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin.

T-3-4

Every single act of one who would lead a life of purity should be in the nature of *yajna*.

MOG-19

The secret of happy life lies in renunciation. Renunciation is life.

MM-192

Man is sent into the world to perform his duty even at the cost of his life.

T-7-115

To know music is to transfer it to life.

T-2-230

The whole existence of man is a ceaseless duel between the forces of life and death.

T-7-143

Every calamity should lead to a thorough cleansing of individual as well as social life.

T-3-258

Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life if there had been no risks?

MM-166

This earthly existence of ours is more brittle than the glass bangles that ladies wear.

TIG-23

Let us each one live our life, and if ours is the right life, where is the cause for hurry? It will react of itself?

T-2-295

Let us give today first the vital things of life and all the graces and ornaments of life will follow.

T-2-162

Dignity of human nature requires that we must face the storms of life.

T-3-130

Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society.

T-7-37

Every reform means awakening. Once truly awakened, the nation will not be satisfied with reform only in one department of life.

T-2-227

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal.

TIG-84

Ahimsa is no mere theory with me, but it is a fact of life based on extensive experience.

T-7-402

Celibacy is a great help inasmuch as it enables one to lead a life of full surrender to God.

XXV-2

That Law which governs all life is God.

TIG-7

One man cannot do right in one department of life whilst he is occupied in doing wrong in any other department. Life is one indivisible whole.

MM-440

LIONS

Can it be ever dangerous for a lion to tell a number of other lions who in their ignorance consider themselves to be merely lambs that they, too, are not lambs but lions?

X-249

LITERACY

Literacy in itself is no education.

MM-379

Literacy is not the end of education, nor even the beginning.

EWE-22

Literacy must be one of the many means for intellectual development, but we have had in the past the intellectual giants who were unlettered.

T-4-145

LITERATURE

Literature, full of the virus of self-indulgence, served out in attractive forms, is flooding this country from the West, and there is the greatest need for our youth to be on their guard.

T-2-319

LOKAMANYA TILAK

The Lokamanya spoke more eloquently from the Mandalay fortress than through the columns of the printed *Kesari*.

T-2-77

With Lokamanya (Tilak) alive, I had only him to convert or to be converted by him.

T-2-145

I am but the heir of Lokamanya and if I do not add to the patrimony he has left me, I would not be a worthy son of a worthy father.

T-2-263

Rammohan Roy would have been a greater reformer, and Lokamanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English.

EWE-9

LOVE

Love and *ahimsa* are matchless in their effect.

TIG-57

Love and exclusive possession can never go together.

T-4-11

Love based upon indulgence of animal passion is at best a selfish affair and likely to snap under the slightest strain.

T-2-225

Love can never express itself by imposing sufferings on others. It can only express itself by self-suffering, by self-purification.

T-3-221

Love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world.

T-3-144

Love is a rare herb that makes a friend even of a sworn enemy and this herb grows out of non-violence.

XIV-299

Love is not love which asks for a return.

XIV-402

Love is the basis of our friendship as it is of religion.

MM-398

The law of love knows no bounds of space or time.

MM-404

Love is the subtlest force in the world.

XXV-392

The law of love will work, just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not.

T-3-112

Love is needed to strengthen the weak; love becomes tyrannical when it exacts obedience from an unbeliever.

T-2-62

Ahimsa means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering.

MM-295

Ahimsa and love are one and the same thing.

TIG-19

If love was not the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death.

TIG-18

Where love is, there God is also.

MM-418

Where there is love, there is life; hatred leads to destruction.

MM-417

The only way love punishes is by suffering.

T-2-87

Wherever there are wars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love.

MM-417

Though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all.

T-3-144

The law of love could be best understood and learned through little children.

MM-423

Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.

MM-344

Mutual trust and mutual love are no trust and no love.

MM-421

If light can come out of darkness, then alone can love emerge from hatred.

MM-417

My fast is, among other things, meant to qualify me for achieving that equal and selfless love.

T-2-151

My freedom from hatred—I would even claim for myself individually, my love—of those who consider themselves to be my enemies does not make me blind to their faults.

T-2-199

My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

MM-424

My love of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country die, so that the human race may live.

T-2-200

My non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it.

T-5-295

My only sanction is the love and affection in which you hold me. But it has its weakness, as it has its strength.

T-5-260

My religion teaches me to love all equally.

XXV-202

I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man.

MM-422

True *ahimsa* should wear a smile even in a death-bed state brought about by an assailant. It is only with that *ahimsa* that we can befriend our opponents and win their love.

T-5-243

I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the supreme Good.

T-2-313

Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me.

MM-422

It is my great misfortune that I have to measure your love by the money gifts you give for *Daridranarayan*.

T-2-354

For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence, *ahimsa*, love.

T-2-126

Free, open love I have looked upon as dog's love. Secret love is, besides, cowardly.

T-5-196

The path of *bhakti*, *karma* and love, as expounded in the *Gita*, leaves no room for the despising of man by man.

T-2-278

Of what avail is my love if it be only so long as I trust my friend?

MM-421

The Law is God. Anything attributed to Him is not a mere attribute. He is Truth, Love, Law and a million things that human ingenuity can name.

T-3-250

Exercise of faith will be the safest where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to Truth and Love.

TIG-9

God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great.

XXV-479

Hatred can be overcome only by love. Counter-hatred only increases the surface as well as the depth of hatred.

T-7-144

True *ahimsa* should mean a complete freedom from ill-will and anger and hate and an overflowing love for all.

T-2-318

It is heavy downpour of rain which drenches the soil to fulness; likewise only a profuse shower of love overcomes hatred.

XIV-402

Jesus lived and died in vain if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal Law of Love.

T-5-18

When you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is love, that is non-violence.

T-3-144

One who hooks his fortune to *ahimsa*, the law of love, daily lessens the circle of destruction and to that extent promotes life and love.

T-4-33

Our peaceful non-co-operation must needs be constructive, non-destructive. Poison should not emerge from the throes of love.

XXV-139

Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.

XXV-563

Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love.

XXV-563

Retaliation is counter-poison, and poison breeds more poison. The nectar of love alone can destroy the poison of hate.

T-5-241

A seeker after truth, a follower of the law of Love, cannot hold anything against tomorrow.

MM-188

The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is Swaraj.

T-2-63

M

MACHINE—MACHINERY

The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to its unknown inventor.

XXV-476

The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man.

XXV-251

The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man.

T-2-162

Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions.

T-2-161

My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the home of the millions.

T-3-135

I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity.

MM-234

What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such.

T-2-161

MAHABHARATA

The author of the *Mahabharata* has not established the necessity of physical warfare, on the contrary he has proved its futility.

TIG-97

The immortal but unknown author of the *Mahabharata* weaves into his story sufficient of the supernatural to warn you against taking him literally.

XXV-128

I look upon Gibbon and Motley as inferior editions of the *Mahabharata*.

XXV-128

I regard Duryodhana and his party as the baser impulses in man and Arjuna and his party as the higher impulses.

MOG-17

MAHATMA

I have never, even in my dream, thought that I was *mahatma* and that others were *alpatma* (little soul.)

T-5-261

MAJORITY

A minority does not always fear majority because it is a majority.

XXVI-161

The principle of majority does not work when differences on fundamentals are involved.

XXV-140

To say that there was danger in numbers was as true as to say that there was safety in numbers.

T-8-33

MAN—MANKIND

A man who throws himself on God ceases to fear man.

T-2-369

Man believes and lives.

T-4-244

Man can only conceive God within the limitation of his own mind.

TIG-45

Man can only describe God in his own poor language.

T-4-244

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world.

TIG-43

Man is sent into the world to perform his duty even at the cost of his life.

T-7-115

The more a man gives his life, the more he saves it.

XXV-437

Man will ever remain imperfect, and it will always be his part to try to be perfect.

T-4-11

Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by a struggle for mutual service.

T-4-36

Man's nature is not essentially evil, brute nature has been known to yield to the influence of love.

T-4-296

Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him.

TIG-39

Men aspiring to be free can hardly think of enslaving others.

MM-314

Man does not live by destruction

TIG-17

A man of faith does not bargain or stipulate with God.

XXV-88

Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God.

MOG-4

A man who would interpret the scriptures must have the spiritual discipline.

TIG-96

Man is neither mere intellect nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone.

EWE-222

Man cannot breathe with borrowed lungs.

XXV-275

Man does not live by bread alone. Many prefer self-respect to food.

XXVI-66

Men of stainless character and self-purification will easily inspire confidence and automatically purify the atmosphere around them.

TIG-57

Man becomes not the lord and master of all creation but he is its servant.

XXVI-545

Man is the maker of his own destiny, and I therefore ask you to become makers of your own destiny.

XXVI-294

Man has always desired power. Ownership of property gives this power. Man hankers also after posthumous fame based on power.

T-2-367

Man the law-giver will have to pay a dreadful penalty for the degradation he has imposed upon the so called weaker sex.

XXVI-516

Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may be described as being made in the image of God but is far from being God.

T-7-73

The man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it.

T-7-61

A courageous man prefers death to the surrender of self-respect.

MM-462

The man who fears man, falls from the estate of man. Fear God alone.

T-2-302

Non-violence is the virtue of the manly. The coward is innocent of it.

XXV-138

Bravery is not man's monopoly.

MM-297

A man can give up a right, but he may not give up a duty without being guilty of a grave dereliction.

T-2-324

Man is not to drown himself in the well of the *Shastras*, but he is to dive in their broad ocean and bring out pearls.

T-7-324

Man is oftentimes weak-minded enough to be caught in the snare of greed and honeyed words.

MM-169

A man or a woman who serves the country with all his or her heart stands on a par with the tallest Congress-man.

T-7-139

Man is born of woman, he is flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone.

T-2-300

Men to be men must be able to trust their womenfolk, even as the latter are compelled to trust them.

T-2-249

God has made of man and woman one complete whole. In the scheme of nature, both of them are equal.

T-7-380

If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior.

T-3-33

Man has regarded woman as his tool. She has learnt to be his tool and in the end found it easy and pleasurable to be such, because when one drags another in his fall, the descent is easy.

T-4-45

No man could look upon another as his enemy, unless he first became his own enemy.

T-7-204

Man cannot be transformed from bad to good overnight.

MM-75

My love of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country die, so that the human race may live.

T-2-200

The man who eats to live, who is friends with the five powers—earth, water, ether, sun and air—and who is a servant of God, the Creator of all of these, ought not to fall ill.

MM-394

It is for you and me to show that no vice is inherent in man.

XXVI-294

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants.

MM-490

I must refuse to believe that the Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman ingenuity.

T-5-161

I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man.

MM-422

Truth and *ashimsa* demand that no human being may debar himself from serving any other human being, no matter how sinful he may be.

XXVI-374

My own opinion is that just as fundamentally man and woman are one, their problem must be one in essence.

T-5-226

The Swaraj of my dream is the poor man's Swaraj.

T-3-65

It is my firm faith that man is by nature going higher.

T-5-305

I can neither serve God nor humanity, if as an Indian I do not serve India, and as a Hindu I do not serve the Indian Mussalmans.

XXV-260

I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him, and if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent.

XXV-390

I believe in *advaita*, I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives.

XXV-390

I believe in what Max Muller said years ago, namely, that truth needed to be repeated as long as there were men who disbelieved it.

TIG-143

If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by any human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live.

T-7-169

I believe in conversion of mankind, not its destruction.

XXV-531

If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that God is Truth.

T-3-144

I hold no man to be indispensable for the welfare of the country.

T-2-137

I cannot picture to myself a time when all mankind will have one religion.

XXVI-285

I regard Duryodhana and his party as the baser impulses in man, and Arjuna and his party as the higher impulses.

MOG-17

I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds.

T-2-49

I trust men only because I trust God.

XXV-390

If I am true to myself, if I am true to mankind, if I am true to humanity, I must understand all the faults that human flesh is heir to.

T-2-199-200

I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

XXV-475

My creed is service of God and therefore of humanity.

XXV-260

A man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins.

T-3-247

My errors have been errors of calculation and judging men, not in appreciating the true nature, of truth and *ahimsa* or in their application.

T-2-204

Mankind is one, seeing that all are equally subject to the moral law. All men are equal in God's eyes.

MM-439

Nothing that is violent can be of lasting benefit to mankind.

MM-459

It is derogatory to the dignity of mankind, it is derogatory to the dignity of India, to entertain for one single moment hatred towards Englishmen.

T-2-199

So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages.

TIG-142

God's ways are more than man's arithmetic.

T-5-151

Some form of common worship and a common place of worship appear to be a human necessity.

MM-105

Man's upward progress means ever increasing difficulty, which is to be welcomed.

MM-286

God is certainly one. He has no second. He is unfathomable, unknowable and unknown to the vast majority of mankind.

XXV-178

Every man has an equal right to the necessities of life even as birds and beasts have.

MM-199

A selfish basis would not serve the purpose of taking a man higher and higher along the paths of evolution.

T-3-140

All the great religions of the world inculcate the equality and brotherhood of mankind and the virtue of toleration.

T-3-257

I believe in absolute oneness of God, and, therefore, also of humanity.

T-2-149

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate.

MM-306

Through realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man.

T-2-353

An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity.

T-2-46

No two men are absolutely alike, not even twins, yet there is much that is indispensably common to all mankind.

T-2-216

The human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality.

T-2-225

Let India become alive by self-purification, that is self-restraint and self-denial, and she will be a boon to herself and mankind.

T-2-56

History shows that the priesthood has not always interfered with the political matters to the benefit of mankind.

T-2-352

Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence.

T-7-144

Living faith in God means acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind.

T-4-252

Human dignity demands courage to defend oneself.

XXVI-220

The golden way was to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family like the members of one family.

T-7-250

A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he has done to his fellowmen.

T-7-341

The fact that mankind persists shows that the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, centripetal force greater than centrifugal.

MM-417

By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man—body, mind and spirit.

MM-379

That which makes man the mere plaything of fate is God.

XXVI-571

That which impels man to do the right is God.

XXVI-571

The whole existence of man is a ceaseless duel between the forces of life and death.

T-7-143

What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realise the spirit within.

MM-168

Only an arrogant man will claim to be independent of everybody else and to be self-contained.

T-2-361

If it is man's privilege to be independent, it is equally his duty to be inter-dependent.

T-2-361

A man of truth must ever be confident, if he has also equal need to be diffident.

T-2-204

Study men following the law of their higher nature, the law of love, so that when you grow to manhood, you will have improved your heritage.

T-3-138

Man had the supreme knack of deceiving himself; the Englishman was supremest among men.

T-8-44

Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives.

T-2-51

When a man wants to make up with his Maker, he does not consult a third party.

T-2-150

The path of *bhakti*, *karma* and love, expounded in the *Gita*, leaves no room for the despising of man by man.

T-2-278

God cannot be so cruel and unjust as to make the distinction of high and low between man and man, and woman and woman.

T-3-234

There can be in the eyes of God no distinction between man and man, even as there is no distinction between animal and animal.

T-3-235

Human language can but imperfectly describe God's ways.

MM-77

Human life is a series of compromises, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory.

MM-39

A man without religion is like a ship without a rudder.

T-3-223

That which is inherent in man is his virtue.

XXVI-294

God in His wisdom has circumscribed man's vision, and rightly too, for otherwise man's conceit would know no bounds.

T-3-255

Men are good. But they are poor victims making themselves miserable under the false belief that they are doing good.

X-127

Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

T-2-143

Imperfect men had no right to judge other imperfect men.

T-8-162

The woman has circumvented man in a variety of ways in her unconsciously subtle ways, as the man has vainly and equally consciously struggled to thwart the woman in gaining ascendancy over him.

T-2-367

It is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth.

T-5-227

God has blessed man with seed that has the highest potency; and woman with a field richer than the richest earth to be found anywhere on this globe.

T-4-60

To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman.

T-3-33

If we could all give our own definitions of God, there would be as many definitions as there are men and women.

XXVI-224

The most practical, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary.

XXV-450

Ahimsa is nothing if not a well-balanced, exquisite consideration for one's neighbour, and an idle man is wanting in that elementary consideration.

T-2-354

Khaddar is an activity that can absorb all the time of all available men and women and grown-up children, if they have faith.

XXV-365

The force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity.

T-5-281

Cow-slaughter and man-slaughter are in my opinion the two sides of the same coin.

XXV-519

Non-violence, applied to very large masses of mankind, is a new experiment in the history of the world.

T-5-273

To bear all kinds of tortures without a murmur of resentment is not possible for a human being without the strength that comes from God.

T-5-98

What is impossible with man is child's play with God.

T-3-137

Often does good come out of evil. But that is God's, not man's plan.

TIG-141

God gifted man with intellect that he might know his Maker.

X-28

Do not flatter yourselves with the belief that a mere recital of that celebrated verse in St. John makes a man a Christian.

TIG-68

If treachery is the reward of trust, will the man who trusts come to harm?

XXV-509

Literary education should follow the education of the hand—the one gift that visibly distinguishes man from beast.

EWE-21

All great religions have rightly regarded *kama* as the arch-enemy of man, anger or hatred coming only in the second place.

MM-299

Unlike the animal, God has given man the faculty of reason.

MM-429

Study not man in his animal nature—man following the laws of the jungle—but study man in all his glory.

T-3-138

He who runs may see that opium and such other intoxicants and narcotics stupefy a man's soul and reduce him to a level lower than that of beasts.

XXV-555

Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold.

XXV-487

We are all very imperfect and weak things, and if we are to destroy all whose ways we do not like, there will be not a man left alive.

XXV-531

All the four stages in a man's life are devised by the seers in Hinduism for imposing discipline and self-restraint.

XXVI-375

Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more and lives more truly by walking to his duty.

T-5-171

The field of research in the doctrine of civil resistance is necessarily limited, as the occasions for civil resistance in a man's life must not be frequent.

T-3-297

Religion is more than life. Remember that his own religion is the truest to every man even if it stands low in the scales of philosophic comparison.

XXV-47

Every species, human and subhuman, has some distinguishing mark, so that you can tell a man from a beast, or a dog from a cow.

T-3-280

No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation.

T-5-278

Study men laying down their lives without hurting anyone else in the cause of their country's freedom.

T-3-138

We burn the evil men do with their mortal remains. We treasure the memory of the good they do, and distance magnifies it.

T-3-201

Life becomes liable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy.

MM-462

A fear-stricken person can never know God, and one who knows God will never fear a mortal man.

T-2-304

MARRIAGE

Marriage is a natural thing in life and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong.

MM-278

Marriage is a matter of choice.

XXVI-286

Marriage is not an act of service. It is a comfort man or a woman seeks for himself or herself.

XXVI-285

The privilege of marriage presupposes temperamental and other affinity.

XXVI-285

Marriage loses its sanctity when its purpose and highest use is conceived to be the satisfaction of the animal passion without contemplating the natural result of such satisfaction.

T-4-60

Undefined love between husband and wife takes one nearer God than any other love.

MM-279

Those marriages which are undertaken for the sake of joint service carry their own blessings.

MM-279

With me marriage is no necessary test of friendship even between husband and wife, let alone their respective clans.

XXVI-285

There is an indissoluble marriage between matter and spirit. Our ignorance of the results of the union makes it a profound mystery and inspires awe in us but it cannot undo them.

T-3-251

MASSES

Nothing can so quickly put the masses on their legs as the spinning wheel and all it means.

XXVI-538

A successful bloody revolution can only mean further misery for the masses.

XXVI-140

Character alone will have real effect on the masses.

T-3-234

A non-violent struggle necessarily involves construction on a mass scale.

XXVI-140

If we are true servants of the masses, we would take pride in spinning for their sake.

T-3-300

Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me.

T-3-136

An organization which looks to money for everything can never serve the masses.

T-7-52

I defy anyone to give for independence a common Indian word intelligible to the masses.

T-2-326

I am myself an insignificant being, but I am supposed to have some hold over the dumb millions.

T-5-232

How to link the classes with the masses is for me one of the greatest problems.

XXVI-379

Those who play upon the passions of the masses injure them and the country's cause.

T-5-225

Slow and inglorious self-imposed starvation among the starving masses is every time more heroic than the death of the scaffold under false exaltation.

XXVI-141

MILITARY—MILITARIZATION

Militarization of India will mean her own destruction as well as of the whole world.

MM-156

All I want to say, with the utmost emphasis at my command, is that the description of India as a military country is wrong.

T-5-171

Refusal of military service is more superficial than non-co-operation with the system which supports the state.

T-3-145

A general is none the worse for the realization of his weakness and for atoning for his sin.

T-5-112

If the Commander-in-Chief will look beyond the defence forces, he will discover that real India is not military but peace-loving.

T-5-171

To refuse to render military service when particular time arrives is to do the thing after all the time for combating the evil is gone.

T-3-145

MILLIONS

I claim to know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last because I recognise no God except that God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions.

TIG-27

The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food.

T-2-65

It is a tragedy of the first magnitude that the millions have ceased to use their hands as hands.

T-2-251

A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists.

T-6-26

MIND

A mind that is once hooked to the Star of Stars becomes incorruptible.

T-4-52

Every submission to merited punishment strengthens the mind of man, every avoidance saps it.

MM-395

The mechanical university study deprives us of the desire for originality; years of memorizing causes a fatigue of the mind that makes most of us fit for the clerical work.

T-4-166

Man can only conceive God within the limitations of his own mind.

TIG-45

I always welcome an honest difference of opinion, for I have always an open mind and have no axe to grind.

T-2-284

MINORITY

A minority does not always fear a majority because it is a majority.
XXVI-161

In a well-ordered society, there should be no minority.
T-8-99

My non-violence bids me dedicate myself to the service of the minorities.
MM-332

Hindus, if they want unity among different races, must have the courage to trust the minorities.
T-2-133

We the English-educated Indians often unconsciously make the terrible mistake of thinking that the microscopic minority of the English-speaking Indians is the whole of India.
T-2-326

MISDEEDS

Let us learn from the English rulers the simple fact that the oppressors are blind to the enormity of their own misdeeds.
XXV-397

MISSIONARY

This motive of mass proselytization lurking in the background vitiates missionary effort.
T-2-342

MISTRUST

Trusting one another, however, can never mean trusting with the lip and mistrusting in the heart.
XXV-436

MOBS—MOBOCRACY

Mobocracy is autocracy multiplied million times.
XXV-531

Nothing is so easy as to train mobs, for the simple reason that they have no mind, no meditation.
T-2-8

MORAL FORCE—MORALITY

Moral result can only be produced by moral restraints.
XXVI-280

Moral restrictions tend to become lax in a foreign country, since the fear of social opinion disappears.
XXVI-58

Moral authority is never retained by any attempt to hold on to it. It comes without seeking and is retained without effort.
MM-458

True morality consists not in following the beaten track, but in finding out the true path for ourselves and in fearlessly following it.
MM-485

To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions.
X-37

Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms.
X-37

That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values.
XXV-475

To me God is truth and love, God is ethics and morality, God is fearlessness.
XXVI-224

Khaddar delivers the poor from the bonds of the rich and creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses.
T-2-225

The very essence of our civilisation is that we give a paramount place to morality in all our affairs, public or private.
MM-321

Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and, therefore, sinful.
T-2-63

If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior.
T-3-3

Satan mostly employs comparatively moral instruments and the language of ethics to give his aims an air of respectability.

T-2-17

The object of basic education is the physical, intellectual and moral development of children through the medium of handicraft.

EWE-24

In a non-violent army, the general and the officers are elected or are as if elected when their authority is moral and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

T-4-298

A country that is governed by even its national army can never be morally free and, therefore, its so-called weakest member can never rise to his full moral height.

T-7-105

It is difficult for me to regard anyone who obeys no moral principle in his conduct to be a religious man.

XXVI-58

Whatever may be the pros and cons of going to the public theatre, it is a patent fact that it has undermined the morals and ruined the character of many a youth in this country.

T-2-352

A democrat relied upon the force not of the arms his state could flaunt in the face of the world, but on the moral force his state could put at the disposal of the world.

T-8-40

The popular government wields a moral force, which is infinitely superior to the physical force that the foreign government could summon to its assistance.

T-8-163

MORTIFICATION

Mortification of the flesh has been held all the world over as a condition of spiritual progress.

TIG-53

MOTHER—MOTHERHOOD

Every mother is a scavenger in regard to her own children, and every student of modern medicine is a tanner inasmuch as he has to dissect and skin human carcasses.

T-3-182

My mother was certainly a scavenger inasmuch as she cleaned me when I was a child.

XXVI-152

Only a prospective mother knows what it is to carry. The onlookers notice her illness and pity her. But she alone knows the travail.

T-5-104

MOTHER-TONGUE

I must cling to my mother-tongue as to my mother's breast, in spite of its shortcomings. It alone can give me the life-giving milk.

EWE-41

MURDER

Is it not possible for us all to realize that masses will never mount to freedom through murder?

T-5-258

MUSEUMS

Museums of ancient things which have disappeared from our economic life have their use and place, but not in our programme which concentrates on industries and crafts which are capable of being revived.

T-4-56

MUSIC

The music of life is in danger of being lost in the music of the voice.

T-7-27

The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely.

TIG-109

To know music is to transfer it to life.
T-2-230

Work for Swaraj fails to appeal to us
because we have no music in us.
T-2-231

There can be no Swaraj where there
is no harmony, no music.
T-2-230

I would make compulsory a proper
singing in company of national songs.
T-2-8

Where there is filth, squalor and
misery, there can be no music.
T-2-231

N

NARCOTICS

An opium-eater may argue the advantage of opium-eating from the fact that he began to understand the evil of the opium habit after having eaten it.

X-27

No one who has wisdom will ever touch opium, liquor or any intoxicants.

MM-376

He who runs may see that opium and such other intoxicants and narcotics stupefy a man's soul and reduce him to a level lower than that of beasts.

XXV-555

NATION—NATIONAL—NATIONALISM

No nation being under another nation can accept gifts, and kick at the responsibility attaching to those gifts, imposed by the conquering nation.

T-2-13

That nation is great which rests its head upon death as its pillow.

X-51

No nation keeps another in subjection without herself turning into a subject nation.

T-3-139

Nations are not formed in a day, the formation requires years.

X-12

No country can become a nation by producing a race of imitators.

EWE-9

Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism though they may be of the true type, never by heroism so called.

T-2-333

Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold.

XXV-487

When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of *Ahimsa* is to stop the war.

TIG-40

A nation that is unfit to fight cannot from experience prove the virtue of not fighting.

XIV-463

I have recognized that the nation has the right, if it so wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence.

XXV-336

Non-co-operation is the nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage.

T-2-46

Many persons claiming different faiths make us one and an indivisible nation.

T-8-65

India's coming to her own will mean every nation doing likewise.

T-2-327

I do not want India to rise on the ruin of other nations.

XXVI-279

A society or a nation constructed non-violently must be able to withstand attack upon its structure from without or within.

T-6-27

If every component part of the nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no one nation and there is no independence.

T-5-272

The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation.

T-5-75

We are too near the scene of tragedy to realize that this canker of untouchability has travelled far beyond its prescribed limits and has sapped the very foundation of the whole nation.

T-3-182

My national service is part of my training for freeing my soul from bondage of flesh.

MM-13

The spinning wheel means national consciousness and a contribution by every individual to a definite constructive national work.

XXVI-49

A national spirit is necessary for the national existence. A flag is a material aid to the development of such a spirit.

XXVI-544

I would make compulsory a proper singing, in company, of national songs.

T-2-8

Between the two, the nationalist and the imperialist, there is no meeting ground.

T-5-238

Nationalism, like virtue, was its own reward.

T-8-98

National education to be truly national must reflect the national condition for the time being.

XXVI-275

I do regard spinning and weaving as the necessary part of any national system of education.

XXVI-275

Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive.

T-2-64

My nationalism, fierce though it is, is not exclusive, is not devised to harm any nation or individual.

T-3-72

My nationalism is as broad as my *swadeshi*. I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit.

XXVI-279

My love of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die so that the human race may live.

T-2-200

Non-violent nationalism is a necessary condition of corporate or civilized life.

XXVI-369

Violent nationalism, otherwise known as imperialism, is the curse.

XXV-369

Hatred is not essential for nationalism. Race hatred will kill the real national spirit.

T-2-200

NATURE

Nature abhors weakness.

T-2-240

The Laws of Nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of Nature's laws.

TIG-23

Behind the magnificent and kaleidoscopic variety, one discovers in nature a unity of purpose, design and form which is equally unmistakable.

T-2-215

I refuse to buy from anybody anything, however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom Nature has made my first care.

XXVI-279

Nature has implanted in the human breast ability to cope with any difficulty or suffering that may come to man unprovoked.

X-53

We may utilise the gifts of nature just as we choose but in her books the debits are always equal to the credits.

MM-199

NATURE CURE

In nature cure, everybody can be his or her own doctor, not so in the various systems of medicine.

TIG-I

Nature cure implies that the treatment should be the cheapest and the simplest possible.

MM-393

Nature cure does mean a change for the better in one's outlook on life itself.

MM-394

The man who accepts nature cure never begs.

MM-394

NON-CO-OPERATION

Non-op-operation is the quickest method of creating public opinion.

MM-344

Non-co-operation means refusal both to help the sinner in his sin and to accept any help or gift from him till he has repented.

XX-34

Non-co-operation is protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

MM-179

Non-co-operation is an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and power.

MM-179

Non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice, and it demands respect for the positive views.

T-2-11

Non-co-operation is a movement intended to invite Englishmen to co-operate with us on honourable terms or retire from our land.

T-2-40

Non-co-operation is the nation's determination to improve.

T-2-27

Non-violent non-co-operation with evil means co-operation with all that is good.

T-7-157

Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice.

T-2-25

Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.

T-2-45

Non-co-operation in itself is unnatural, vicious and sinful.

T-2-149

Non-co-operation is the nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage.

T-2-46

Non-co-operation is intended to pave the way to real honourable and voluntary co-operation based on mutual respect and trust.

XX-162

Non-co-operation in the political field is an extension of the doctrine as it is practised in the domestic field.

XX-61

Non-co-operation enables us to show that in everything that matters we can be independent of the Government.

XX-131

Refusal of military service is more superficial than non-co-operation with the system which supports the state.

T-3-145

When freedom is in jeopardy, non-co-operation may be a duty and prison may be a palace.

XXV-393

It is the non-violent non-co-operation which evokes the highest spirit of self-sacrifice that will wean one from the error of one's ways.

XXV-392

The primary object of non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification.

XX-17

The *Bhagavadgita* is a gospel of non-co-operation between the forces of darkness and those of light.

MM-179

The avowed policy of non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital.

XX-17

Real non-co-operation is non-co-operation with evil and not with the evil-doer.

T-2-200

At times, non-co-operation becomes as much a duty as co-operation.

T-5-276

Total non-violent non-co-operation has no place in popular *raj*, whatever its level may be.

T-7-149

Our peaceful non-co-operation must needs be constructive, not destructive.

XXV-139

Our non-co-operation is with the system the English have established in India, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak.

T-2-64

The nation's non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms, as is every nation's right and every good government's duty.

T-2-46

I isolate this non-co-operation from Sinn Feinism, for it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence.

T-2-6

Non-co-operation is not a movement of brag, bluster or bluff.

T-2-34

Non-co-operation is not a hymn of hate.

T-2-200

Non-co-operation in an angry atmosphere is an impossibility.

T-2-12

My faith in non-co-operation is as bright as ever.

XXV-336

My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men.

MM-184

Behind my non-co-operation there is always the keenest desire to co-operate on the slightest pretext even with the worst opponents.

MM-183

I was a co-operator too in the sense that I non-co-operated for co-operation, and even then I said that if I could carry the country forward by co-operation I should co-operate.

T-4-155

In the very act of my non-co-operation, I am seeking their co-operation in my campaign.

T-3-196

My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house top that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence and *swadeshi* is a message to the world.

T-2-64

My non-co-operation is a token of my earnest longing for real heart co-operation in the place of co-operation falsely so called.

T-2-382

Reasoned and willing obedience to the laws of the State is the first lesson in non-co-operation.

XXV-560

I retain the opinion that council entry is inconsistent with non-co-operation as I conceive it.

T-2-128

I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful non-co-operation a trial.

T-2-6

Non-violent non-co-operation, I am convinced, is a sacred duty at times.

T-2-149

Non-violent non-co-operators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India.

T-2-83

Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence.

XX-110

It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach disaffection towards the existing order of things. Non-co-operators are but giving disciplined expression to a nation's outraged feelings.

XX-128

We must treat arrest as the normal condition of the life of a non-co-operator.

T-2-52

Though a non-co-operator, I shall gladly subscribe to a bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me *mahatma* and to touch my feet.

T-2-257

Non-violent non-co-operation was the only alternative to anarchy and worse.

T-2-149

Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built.

T-2-42

Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil.

T-2-100

That parrot's non-co-operation with the cage, with its master, will live for ever because it looks upon renunciation, non-co-operation, as a joy.

XXV-445

For *satyagraha* and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.

T-2-5

Non-co-operation and civil disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called *satyagraha*.

XXV-489

NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances.

T-5-135

Non-violence is impossible without humility.

T-5-12

Non-violence is like the radium in its action.

T-4-290

Non-violence succeeds only when we have a real living faith in God.

T-5-14

Non-violence is a quality not of the body but of the soul.

T-4-294

Non-violence or soul force too does not need physical aids for its propagation or effect.

T-4-290

Non-violence is an active force of the highest order. It is soul force or the power of the godhead within us.

T-4-290

Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills.

MM-25

Non-violence abhors fear and, therefore, secrecy. T-5-24

True non-violence is mightier than the mightiest violence. T-4-252

Non-violence and cowardice go ill together. True non-violence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness. T-5-136

Non-violence is the summit of bravery. T-2-131

Non-violence is impossible without self-purification. T-5-190

Perfect non-violence is difficult. It admits no weakness. T-5-115

Non-violence of the strong is infinitely braver than their violence. T-7-2

Non-violence requires great patience. T-5-233

The common factor of all religions is non-violence. XXV-169

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. TIG-39

Science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. MM-131

There can be no non-violence offered by the militarily strong. MM-137

At the centre of non-violence is a force which is self-acting. T-4-49

Ours has not been unadulterated non-violence in thought, word and deed. T-3-298

Without real non-violence, there would be perfect anarchy. T-5-224

The *charkha* is an outward symbol of truth and non-violence. T-5-265

Non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest. T-4-253

Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me, therefore, to be any improvement on the technique of violence. T-7-67

God has blessed me with the mission to place non-violence before the nation for adoption. T-5-210

Non-violence is not a cloistered virtue, confined only to the *rishi* and the cave-dweller. T-5-189

Non-violence becomes meaningless if violence is permitted for self-defence. T-5-249

Non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. T-2-4

Non-violence is an attribute of the Almighty whose ways of fulfilling Himself are inscrutable. T-6-12

In a plan of life based on non-violence, woman has as much right to shape her own destiny as man has to shape his. T-6-24

In a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. MM-132

Jesus was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*. MGCG-301

The science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple; science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy.

T-4-280

Unexampled bravery, born of non-violence, coupled with strict honesty shown by a fair number of Muslims, was sure to infect the whole of India.

T-8-176

You can return blow for blow if you are not brave enough to follow the path of non-violence.

MM-148

Whether you belong to the school of violence or non-violence, you will still have to go through the fire of sacrifice and of discipline.

MM-20

Non-violence to be a creed has to be all-pervasive.

T-4-41

Non-violence requires more than the courage of the soldier of war.

XXV-437

Non-violence is the virtue of the manly. The coward is innocent of it.

XXV-138

Non-violence is the means, the end for everyone is complete independence.

MM-132

Civil disobedience is the only non-violent escape from [the] soul-destroying heat [of violence].

T-3-12

Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence.

T-7-144

A person who believes in non-violence believes in a living God. He cannot accept defeat.

T-5-16

Truth (*satya*) is positive, non-violence is negative.

MOG-14

Truth stands for the fact, non-violence negatives the fact.

MOG-14

It is much more difficult to live for non-violence than to die for it.

T-5-4

The very word Islam means peace, which is non-violence.

T-5-172

The force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the material forces of nature, like electricity.

T-3-11

Truth is self-evident, non-violence is its maturest fruit. It is contained in Truth, but isn't self-evident.

MOG-14

The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living on those principles.

T-5-93

Non-violence, in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering.

T-2-5

Non-violence which is a quality of the heart, cannot come by an appeal to the brain.

T-5-288

Non-violence, applied to very large masses of mankind, is a new experiment in the history of the world.

T-5-273

Non-violence in politics is a new weapon in the process of evolution; its vast possibilities are yet unexplored.

T-4-205

Non-violence is a plant of slow growth, it grows imperceptibly but surely.

T-5-170

Non-violence of the strong cannot be a mere policy. It must be a creed, or a passion, if 'creed' is objected to.

T-5-289

Non-violence to be worth anything has to work in the face of hostile forces.

T-4-143

Non-violence is an attribute of the soul, and, therefore, to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life.

T-5-246

Non-violence should never be used as a shield for cowardice. It is a weapon of the brave.

T-7-30

Non-violence knows no defeat. It must be true non-violence, not a make-believe.

T-7-29

Non-violence is an intensely active force when properly understood and used.

T-4-141

Non-violence, when it becomes active, travels with extraordinary velocity, and then it becomes a miracle.

T-4-142

Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute.

MM-112

Non-violence is the law of the human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force.

MM-113

Non-violence is a universal principle and its operation is not limited by a hostile environment.

T-4-289

Non-violence is an unchangeable creed. It has to be pursued even in face of violence raging around you.

T-4-236

The bravery of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent.

MM-126

The real test of non-violence lies in its being brought in contact with those who have contempt for it.

T-5-256

There is nothing but non-violence to fall back upon for retaining our freedom, even as we had to do for gaining it.

T-7-95

You cannot build non-violence on a factory civilization, but it can be built on self-contained villages.

MM-369

If one does not practise non-violence in one's own personal relations with others and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is vastly mistaken.

T-5-11

The patriotic spirit demands loyal and strict adherence to non-violence and truth.

T-2-92

If it is by force that we wish to achieve Swaraj, let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may.

T-2-92

Love is a rare herb that makes a friend even of a sworn enemy and this herb grows out of non-violence.

XIV-299

Self-suppression is often necessary in the interest of truth and non-violence.

T-4-41

If God holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way.

T-5-213

Just as there are signs by which you can recognize violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence.

T-5-277

What can be richer and more fruitful than a greater fulfilment of the vow of non-violence in thought, word and deed or the spread of that spirit?

T-2-86

Unless discipline is rooted in non-violence, it might prove a source of infinite mischief.

T-4-25

The votaries of non-violence cannot harbour violence even in thought, let alone the question of doing it.

T-7-404

There is no such thing as compulsion in the scheme of non-violence.

T-4-267

The first step in non-violence is that we cultivate in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, humility, tolerance and loving kindness.

T-4-236

The power of unarmed non-violence is any day far superior to that of armed force.

T-4-252

Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil.

T-2-100

The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life.

T-5-278

The force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity.

T-5-281

Civilization based on non-violence must be different from that organized for violence.

T-5-209

The *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton.

T-2-5

A country whose culture is based on non-violence will find it necessary to have every home as much self-contained as possible.

T-5-214

Creation of effective public opinion depended on the cultivation of true courage, born of truthfulness and non-violence.

T-8-11

The man or the woman who can display this non-violence of the brave can easily stand against an external invasion.

T-5-298

Disobedience to be civil has to be open and non-violent.

T-2-52

If the people knew the working of the law of truth and non-violence, then they would themselves regulate the matter of shortage.

T-8-40

I hold that without truth and non-violence there can be nothing but destruction of humanity.

T-7-14

Complete independence will be complete only to the extent of our approach in practice to truth and non-violence.

T-6-17

Our struggle consists in showing that our non-violence is neither a cloak to hide our violence or hatred, nor a preparation for violence in the near or distant future.

T-6-4

The way out of the riots, on the one hand, and the British bayonets on the other is frank acceptance of non-violence.

T-5-238

The meticulous care for the rights of the least among us is the *sin qua non* of non-violence.

T-5-209

Non-violence is an unchangeable creed.

MM-114

If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman.

T-3-33

Non-violence is not an easy thing to understand, still less to practise, weak as we are.

MM-153

Appreciation of non-violence means patient research and still more patient and difficult practice.

T-6-29

Non-violence does not signify that man must not fight against the enemy, and by enemy is meant the evil which men do, not the human beings themselves.

T-8-281

Non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues.

T-5-18

The weapon of non-violence does not need supermen or superwomen to wield it; even beings of common clay can use it and have used it before this with success.

T-4-278

A person who has truly realized the principle of non-violence has the God-given strength for his weapon, and the world has not yet known anything that can match it.

T-4-297

We become Godlike to the extent we realise non-violence, but we can never become wholly God.

MM-115

History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance.

MM-149

Truth and non-violence are both the means and the end, and given the right type of men, the legislatures can be the means of achieving the concrete pursuit of truth and non-violence.

T-4-161

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering.

MM-27

A little of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society.

MM-122

There is no hope for the aching world except through the narrow and straight path of non-violence.

MM-130

Our non-violence in respect of the Government is a result of our incapacity for effective violence.

T-5-187

Even a believer in non-violence has to say between two combatants which is less bad or whose cause is just.

XXV-391

When you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is love, that is, non-violence.

T-3-144

Use truth as your anvil, non-violence as your hammer and anything that does not stand the test when it is brought to the anvil of truth and hammered with *ahimsa*, reject as non-Hindu.

XXVI-374

Truth and non-violence are perhaps the activist forces you have in the world.

T-3-145

Truth and non-violence are no cloistered virtues but are applicable as much in the forum and the legislatures as in the market-place.

T-4-161

We may not go about parroting truth and non-violence and steering clear of them in our daily life.

T-5-180

The practice of truth and non-violence melted the religious differences, and we learnt to see beauty in each religion.

T-5-225

Active non-violence is necessary for those who will offer civil disobedience but the will and proper training are enough for the people to co-operate with those who are chosen for civil disobedience.

T-5-281

If fighting for the legislatures meant a sacrifice of truth and non-violence, democracy would not be worth a moment's purchase.

T-4-156

To one who reads the spirit of the *Gita*, it teaches the secret of non-violence, the secret of realizing self through the physical body.

MOG-16

If what passed as non-violence did not enable people to protect the honour of women, or if it did not enable the women to protect their own honour, it was not non-violence.

T-7-30

It is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

T-4-291

When non-violence is accepted as the law of life, it must pervade the whole being and not be applied to isolated acts.

MM-113

An awakened people who rely upon their non-violent strength are independent in the face of any conceivable combination of the armed powers.

T-5-19

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence.

MM-126

A rabbit that runs away from the bull-terrier is not particularly non-violent.

T-2-131

Carrying arms for the removal of Arms Act can never fall under any scheme of non-violence.

T-2-279

Tolstoy was the greatest apostle of non-violence that the present age has produced.

T-2-31

The panoplied warrior of truth and non-violence is ever and incessantly active.

T-3-145

Indeed the very word, non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life.

MM-265

All society is held together by non-violence even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation.

MM-130

We dare not enter the kingdom of liberty with mere lip-homage to truth and non-violence.

T-2-85

Non-violence does not require any outside or outward training.

MM-126

To practise non-violence in mundane matters is to know its true value.

MM-129

Non-violence cannot be learnt by staying at home.

MM-126

That non-violence which only an individual can use is not of much use in terms of society.

MM-127

Non-violence being the mightiest force in the world and also the most elusive in its working, it demands the greatest exercise of faith.

T-5-17

Our non-violence *vis-a-vis* the British Government has been the non-violence of the weak.

MM-349

When a man vowed to non-violence as the law governing human beings dares to refer to war, he can only do it so as to strain every nerve to avoid it.

T-8-140

Unless you go on discovering new applications of the law of non-violence, you do not profit by it.

T-5-180

Unless we learn this lesson of non-violence fully, we shall never do away with the deadly feuds which have been the curse of the Frontier* people.

T-5-302

Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

MM-23

My non-violence is made of stern stuff. It is firmer than the firmest metal known to the scientists.

T-5-169

Non-violence, which to me is the chief glory of Hinduism, has been sought to be explained away by our people as being meant for the *sanyasis* only .

T-7-272

My non-violence demands universal love, and you** are not a small part of it.

T-5-295

My non-violence bids me dedicate myself to the service of minorities.

T-7-385

My non-violence is not merely kindness to all the living creatures.

T-7-128

My non-violence does recognise different species of violence, defensive and offensive.

MM-148

My religion is based on truth and non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realising Him.

XXV-558

My love for non-violence is superior to every other thing, mundane or super-mundane.

MM-118

My creed of non-violence does not favour the punishment of thieves and dacoits and even murderers.

T-3-62

My faith in truth and non-violence is ever growing, and as I am ever trying to follow them in my life, I too am growing every moment.

T-4-154

My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

T-2-6

My mission is to convert every Indian, even Englishmen, and finally the world to non-violence for regulating mutual relations, whether political, economic, social or religious.

T-5-221

My *dharma* teaches me for the sake of others to give my life without even attempting to kill.

XXV-437

To my mind, Swaraj based on non-violence is the fulfilment of the constructive programme.

T-6-16

To me Truth is God and there is no way to find Truth except the way of non-violence.

T-2-235

For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence, *ahimsa* love.

T-2-126

Truth is my God. I can only search Him through non-violence and in no other way.

T-3-298

* The North-West Frontier of pre-partition India

** Addressed to every Briton.

Since propagation of non-violence is the mission of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers.

T-5-287

The spinning wheel is the symbol of non-violence for me.

T-5-290

Religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints.

T-2-5

My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving the dear ones unprotected.

T-2-131

My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force.

MM-143

For me non-violence is a creed. I must act up to it, whether I am alone or have companions.

T-5-287

If my non-violence is to be contagious and infectious, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts.

MM-277

My implicit faith in non-violence does mean yielding to minorities when they are really weak.

MM-343

It is my unshakable belief that India's destiny is to deliver the message of non-violence to mankind.

T-4-41

Every moment of my existence is dedicated to the winning of Swaraj by means of truth and non-violence.

T-3-79

All my experiments in *ahimsa* have taught me that non-violence in practice means common labour with the body.

T-5-225

To my mind, the most perfect demonstration of non-violence was in Champaran.*

T-5-191

The only virtue I want to claim is truth and non-violence.

T-2-84

I have no weapon but non-violence.

XXV-423

I shall, of course, die with non-violence on my lips.

T-5-265

I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers.

XXV-489

I am a seasoned soldier of non-violence, and I have evidence enough to sustain my faith.

T-5-222

I will not have the power of non-violence to be underestimated in order to cover my limitations or weaknesses.

T-5-169

I can no more preach non-violence to a cowardly man than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes.

T-2-131

I have been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years.

T-5-295

I have recognised that the nation has the right, if it so wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence.

MM-148

The non-violence I teach is active non-violence of the strongest. But the weakest can partake in it without becoming weaker.

XXVI-140

If intellect plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence.

T-5-291

There is nothing on earth that I would not give up for the sake of the country, excepting, of course, two things and two only, namely, truth and non-violence.

T-2-235

* A district of Bihar.

The non-violent man automatically becomes a servant of God.

T-4-257

The nation cannot be kept on the non-violent path by violence.

MM-153

The power of non-violent resistance can only come from honest working of the constructive programme.

T-5-226

Non-violent defence presupposes recklessness about one's life and property.

T-5-282

A non-violent fight is sharp as the edge of a sword, sharpened on the whetstone of heart.

T-5-111

Non-violent action means mobilization of the world opinion in our favour.

T-5-267

Non-violent action without the co-operation of the heart and the head cannot produce the intended result.

T-5-132

Non-violent attainment of self-government presupposes a non-violent control over the violent elements in the country.

T-2-83

Non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from goodwill and gentleness.

XXV-473

Non-violent nationalism is a necessary condition of corporate or civilised life.

XXV-369

A non-violent person's life is always at the disposal of him who would take it.

XXV-437

A non-violent struggle necessarily involves construction on a small scale. It cannot therefore lead to *tamas* or darkness or inertia.

XXVI-140

Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built.

T-2-42

A non-violent occupation is thus that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

MM-265

A society or a nation constructed non-violently must be able to withstand attack upon its structure from without or within.

T-6-27

A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists.

MM-257

The end of non-violent 'war' is always an agreement, never dictation, much less humiliation of the opponent.

T-5-257

For a non-violent person, the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him.

T-5-304

No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred.

T-5-276

Non-violent life was an act of self-examination and self-purification, whether by the individual, group or a nation.

T-7-321

In a non-violent army, the general and the officers are elected, or are as if elected, when their authority is moral and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

T-4-298

A non-violent revolution is not a programme of "seizure of power" but it is a programme of transformation of relationships, ending in a peaceful transfer of power.

T-7-29

If all were non-violent, there could be no anarchy and there would be no question of anybody arming for meeting aggression from without.

T-5-287

If we are non-violent through and through, our non-violence would have been self-evident.

T-3-298

Those who are truthful, non-violent and brave do not cease to be so because of the stupidity of their leader.

T-5-128

An army, however small, of truly non-violent soldiers is likely some day to multiply itself.

T-5-304

Centralization as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society.

MM-137

With their own exploitation, boycott of foreign cloth through picketing may easily be violent; through the use of *khadi* it is most natural and absolutely non-violent.

T-4-10

Himsa does not need to be taught. Man as animal is violent, but as spirit is non-violent.

T-5-316

The Congress fights not with violent but with non-violent means, however imperfect, however crude the non-violence may be.

T-5-167

A truly non-violent man would never live to tell the tale of atrocities. He would have laid down his life on the spot in non-violent resistance.

T-7-30

Those who have their hands dyed deep in blood cannot build a non-violent order for the world.

T-7-5

A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent reaction upon the opponent.

T-5-130

A non-violent warrior knows no leaving the battle. He rushes into the mouth of *himsa*, never even once harbouring an evil thought.

T-5-116

It is the non-violent non-co-operation which evokes the highest spirit of self-sacrifice that will wean one from the error of one's ways.

T-7-157

Non-violent non-co-operation, I am convinced, is a sacred duty at times.

T-2-149

Non-violent non-co-operation was the only alternative to anarchy and worse.

T-2-149

Non-violent, non-co-operators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India.

T-2-83

Total non-violent non-co-operation has no place in popular *raj*, whatever its level may be.

T-7-149

The movement of non-violent non-co-operation has nothing in common with the historical struggles for freedom in the West.

MM-182

For a non-violent struggle, there is no such age limit. The blind, the maimed and the bed-ridden may serve, and not only men but women also.

T-4-141

Unless non-violence of the strong is really developed among us, there should be no thought of civil disobedience for Swaraj, whether within the states or in British India.

T-5-71

O

OBEDIENCE

Obedience to the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society.

T-4-36

Compulsory obedience to a master is a state of slavery, willing obedience to one's father is the glory of sonship.

T-4-36

Before civil disobedience can be practised on a vast scale, people must learn the art of civil or voluntary obedience.

T-4-10

Reasoned and willing obedience to the laws of the State is the first lesson in non-co-operation.

XXV-560

A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children, without first doing his duty by them, excites nothing but contempt.

T-8-31

Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine.

T-5-104

In a non-violent army, the general and the officers are elected, or are as if elected, when their authority is moral and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

T-4-298

Through *khadi* we teach the people the art of civil obedience to an institution which they have built up for themselves.

T-4-10

OCEAN

The ocean is composed of drops of water, each drop is an entity and yet it is part of the whole, the 'one and the many'.

TIG-147

Absolute calm is not the law of ocean. And it is the same with the ocean of life.

T-7-190

OPPRESSION

Everyone should realize the secret that oppression thrived only when the oppressed submitted to it.

T-7-192

OPTIMIST

I am an irrepressible optimist, but I always base my optimism on solid facts.

T-2-152

ORGANISATION

Organisations, like men, if they are to command respect and grow, must have a sense of honour and must fulfil their promises.

T-3-7

Personal likes and dislikes, ambitions and petty jealousies should have no place in Congress organisation.

T-7-53

ORTHODOX

The only way by which you and I can wean orthodox Hindus from their bigotry is by patient argument and correct conduct.

XXV-514

P

PARLIAMENT

Parliamentary work is but a minor item of the Congress Programme.

T-5-32

The Congress is intended to be a forerunner and prototype of a Parliament.

XXV-386

When Swaraj comes, different parties will work in the same Swaraj Parliament.

XXV-386

PASSION

By reckless indulgence in their passions, parents serve for their children as models for unrestrained licence.

T-2-224

To conquer the subtle passions seems to me to be harder far than the physical conquest of the world by the force of arms.

TIG-58

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms.

X-48

Passive resistance was a preparation for active resistance of arms.

T-8-40

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used.

MM-164

Passive resistance is a misnomer for non-violent resistance. It is much more active than violent resistance.

T-4-141

Passive resistance is a negative thing, and it has nothing of the active principle of love.

T-4-253

Passive resistance, unlike non-violence, has no power to change men's hearts.

MM-157

The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard.

X-51

Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul force.

MM-164

PATIENCE

Patience and perseverance, if we have them, overcome mountains of difficulties.

MM-365

To lose patience is to lose the battle.

T-2-180

The *khadi* spirit means infinite patience.

T-2-281

PATIENT

A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vices of his patient degrades himself and his patient.

TIG-114

PATRIOTISM

My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or exploitation of other nationalities.

T-2-353

By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them.

X-41

PEACE

Peace is unattained by part performance of conditions, even as a chemical combination is impossible without complete fulfilment of the conditions of attainment thereof.

TIG-144

Peace will not come out of a **clash** of arms but out of justice lived and **done** by unarmed nations in the face of **odds**.

T-5-193

My heart rebels against any **foreigner** imposing on my country the peace which is here called *Pax Britannica*.

T-2-201

Indeed a civil resister **offers** resistance only when peace **becomes** impossible.

T-3-218

The very word Islam means **peace**, which is non-violence.

T-5-172

Without prayer there is no **inward** peace.

TIG-42

My attempt and my prayer **are and** will be for an honourable peace between the belligerent nations in the least possible time.

T-5-188

Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily acts.

TIG-43

Salvation of the *Gita* is perfect peace.

TIG-100

An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.

T-2-46

Violence is bound sooner or later to exhaust itself but peace cannot issue out of such exhaustion.

T-7-5

If Swaraj is to be had by peaceful methods, it will only be attained by attention to every little detail of national life.

T-2-360

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world.

TIG-43

Not to believe in the possibility of **permanent** peace is to disbelieve in the Godliness of human nature.

TIG-144

The one condition for fighting for peace and liberty is to acquire self-restraint.

XXVI-45

The English peace is the peace of the grave.

T-2-326

PEOPLE

A true life lived amongst the people is in itself an object-lesson that must produce its own effect upon immediate surroundings.

MM-366

A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.

T-5-10

An awakened people who rely upon their non-violent strength are independent in the face of any conceivable combination of the armed powers.

T-5-19

PERFECT—PERFECTION

In the characteristics of the perfected man of the *Gita*, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare.

TIG-97

Salvation of the *Gita* is perfect peace.

TIG-100

Man will ever remain imperfect and it will always be his part to try to be perfect.

T-4-11

Krishna of the *Gita* is perfection and right knowledge personified, but the picture is imaginary.

TIG-98

Life is an aspiration. Its mission is to strive after perfection, which is self-realization.

T-4-33

To find Truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny, i.e. to become perfect.

TIG-3

PICKETING

Work achieved through aggressive picketing will be of doubtful worth, while work achieved through loving persuasive pressure will be lasting.

T-3-63

PLEDGE

If you weigh a pledge against a sum of hundreds of thousands, the pledge will be seen to be of greater consequence.

XIV-249

A religious person will never feel happy in forcing a person to break his pledge or associating himself with such an effort.

XIV-249

POETRY

If the poet* span for half an hour daily, his poetry would gain in richness.

T-2-215

POLICE

Peace restored with the help of the police and its elder brother, the military, will strengthen the hold of the foreign government and emasculate us still further.

T-7-167

POLITICS—POLITICAL

Politics divorced from religion have absolutely no meaning.

MM-310

Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions.

MM-310

All constructive activity is in a sense part and parcel of the politics of the country.

T-5-244

Remember that no political programme can stand without the constructive programme.

T-4-156

Human life being an undivided whole, no line could ever be drawn between its different compartments, nor between ethics and politics.

T-7-350

Non-violence in politics is a new weapon in the process of evolution. Its vast possibilities are yet unexplored.

T-4-205

* The reference here is to poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Passive resistance seeks to rejoin politics and religion and to test every one of our actions in the light of ethical principles.

X-248

To think in terms of the political goal in every matter and at every step is to raise unnecessary dust.

T-4-44

I would dance with joy if I had to give up politics.

T-5-244

I have sacrificed no principle to gain a political advantage.

XXVI-285

I draw no hard and fast line of demarcation between political, social, religious and other questions.

T-3-187

Section 124-A, under which I am happily charged, is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen.

T-2-100

POMP

Pomp and pageantry are often synonymous with vulgarity.

T-4-170

POOR—POVERTY

Let there be no distinction between rich and poor, high and low.

XXVI-119

To wear torn clothes is a sign of laziness and, therefore, of shame, but to wear patched clothes proclaims poverty or renunciation, and industry.

T-7-108

My greatest worry is the ignorance and poverty of the masses of India, and the way in which they have been neglected by the classes, especially the neglect of the Harijans by the Hindus.

T-4-102

The spinning wheel and the spinning wheel alone will solve, if anything will solve, the problem of the deepening poverty of India.

XXVI-292

Unless all the discoveries that you make have the welfare of the poor as the end in view, all your workshops will be really no better than Satan's workshops.

T-2-272

POSSIBLE

We are daily witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday becoming the possible of today.

XXVI-68

POWER

Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love.

XXV-563

Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.

XXV-563

Real power does not consist in the ability to inflict the capital punishment upon the subjects, but in the will and the ability to protect the subjects against the world.

T-2-178

There is an indefinable mysterious Power that pervades everything.

T-2-312

Whilst power, superimposed, always needs the help of police and military, power generated from within should have little or no use for them.

MM-345

God is not a Power residing in the clouds. God is an unseen Power residing within us and nearer to us than finger-nails to the flesh.

TIG-19

Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives.

MM-345

Man has always desired power. Ownership of property gives this power. Man hankers also after posthumous fame based on power.

T-2-367

No power on earth can subjugate you when you are armed with the sword of *ahimsa*.

T-7-113

Khaddar has the greatest organizing power in it because it has itself to be organized and because it affects all India.

T-2-256

No empire intoxicated with the red wine of power and the plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world.

T-2-90

Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir, and produces tremendous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet.

T-2-373

The moment the cultivators of the soil realize their power, the *Zamindari* evil will be sterilized.

MM-219

How heavy is the toll of sins and wrong that wealth, power and prestige exact from man.

MM-192

PRAYER

Prayer can come in only when fasting has done its work. It can make fasting easy and bearable.

T-7-79

Prayer is a confession of one's unworthiness and weakness.

TIG-48

Prayer is a sign of repentance, a desire to become better, purer.

T-4-34

Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

TIG-55

Prayer is either petitional or in its wider sense is inward communion.

TIG-41

Prayer is the key of the morning and the bolt of the evening.

MM-87

Prayer is no mere exercise of words or of the ears, it is no mere repetition of empty formula.

TIG-42

Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily acts.

TIG-43

Prayer presupposed faith. No prayer went in vain. Prayer was like any other action.

T-8-25

A prayerful study and experience are essential for a correct interpretation of the scriptures.

MOG-13

Our prayer is a heart search. It is a reminder to ourselves that we are helpless without His support.

TIG-44

The prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement. Properly understood and applied, it is the most potent instrument of action.

T-7-94

True prayer is not a prelude to inaction.

T-4-35

Undoubtedly, prayer requires a living faith in God. Successful *satyagraha* is inconceivable without that faith.

T-7-965

Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayers in the presence of din and noise.

T-2-13

Without prayer there is no inward peace.

TIG-42

Work is prayer but it can also be madness.

XXV-38

Worship or prayer is not to be performed with the lips, but with the heart.

MM-78

My greatest weapon is mute prayer.

T-5-21

My attempt and my prayer are and will be for an honourable peace between the belligerent nations in the least possible time.

T-5-188

My austerities, fastings and prayers are, I know, of no value if I rely upon them for reforming me.

My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart for forgiveness for sins unwittingly committed.

XXV-200

The meaning of prayer is that I want to evoke that Divinity within me.

T-5-147

Prayer has been the saving of my life. Without it I should have been a lunatic long ago.

T-3-110

Prayer has not been a part of my life in the sense that truth has been.

T-3-110

Fasting and prayer are common injunctions in my religion.

T-2-152

A personal selfish prayer is bad whether made before an image or an unseen God.

TIG-90

A man of prayer regards what are known as physical calamities as divine chastisement.

T-4-34

Begin your day with prayer, and make it so soulful that it may remain with you until the evening.

TIG-43

Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares.

TIG-43

Empty prayer is as 'sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal'.

T-2-149

You are not going to know the meaning of God or prayer, unless you reduce yourself to a cipher.

T-5-149

A complete fast is a complete and literal denial of self. It is the truest prayer.

MM-35

Buddhism is one long prayer.

T-2-256

God answers prayer in His own way, not ours.

MM-91

Just as a prayer may be merely mechanical intonation as of a bird, so may a fast be a mere mechanical torture of the flesh.

T-2-85

Let us by prayer purify ourselves and we shall not only remove untouchability but shall also hasten the advent of Swaraj.

XXV-515

The congregational prayer is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship.

T-7-64

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world.

MM-90

The mundane use of the *Gayatri*, * its repetition for healing the sick, illustrates the meaning we have given to prayer.

TIG-51

The sky may be overcast today with clouds, but a fervent prayer to God is enough to dispel them.

T-4-29

PREACHING

Preaching jars on me and makes no appeal to me, and I get suspicious of missionaries who preach.

TIG-72

I cannot say what to preach, but I can say that a life of service and uttermost simplicity is the best preaching.

TIG-72

PRISON

Our triumph consists in thousands being led to the prisons like lambs to the slaughter-house.

T-2-52

Our triumph consists again in being imprisoned for no wrong whatsoever.

T-2-52

By noiselessly going to prison a civil resister ensures a calm atmosphere.

T-2-53

PROGRESS

In our progress towards the goal, we ever see more and more enchanting scenery.

T-5-174

Friends were friends only when they helped one to progress in life.

T-7-295

To be dissatisfied with this slowness of progress betrays ignorance of the way in which reform works.

T-7-154

All education in a country has got to be demonstrably in promotion of the progress of the country in which it is given.

MM-381

Civilizations have come and gone and, in spite of our vaunted progress, I am tempted to ask again and again, 'To what purpose?'

T-2-295

PROHIBITION

I would rather have India reduced to a state of pauperism than have thousands of drunkards in our midst.

T-2-280

I would rather have India without education, if that is the price to be paid for making it dry.

T-2-280

Prohibition will remain a far cry if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first-class national importance.

T-4-173

Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the West.

T-2-228

The demand for total prohibition must go hand in hand with the demand for reduction in the military expenditure.

T-2-227

Only those women who have drunkards as their husbands know what havoc the drink devil works in homes that once were orderly and peace-giving.

T-3-33

A snake can only destroy the body, but the curse of drink corrupts the soul within.

T-2-297

* The Vedic prayer

It reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority in America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure, however shortlived it was.

T-4-173

PROMISE

If the promise inscribed on a promissory note is not honoured, the promissory note is worth nothing and fit only to be torn to pieces and thrown away.

T-7-118

PROPAGANDA

Practice is the best speech and the best propaganda.

XXV-451

No language can spread through mere propaganda.

T-7-51

Black flags and noisy slogans and hurling of stones and shoes have no place in educative and instructive propaganda.

T-5-159

PROPHETS

The prophets live and they die but their doctrines often fructify after centuries.

T-7-279

PUBLIC OPINION

Creation of effective public opinion depended on the cultivation of true courage, born of truthfulness and non-violence.

T-8-11

Performance of one's duty should be independent of public opinion.

T-2-320

The only force at the disposal of democracy was that of the public opinion.

T-8-100

In concrete form, what pure suffering, wholly one-sided, does is to stir public opinion against a wrong.

MGCG-301

The *satyagrahi* strives to reach the reason through the heart. The method of reaching the heart is to awaken public opinion.

XXVI-327

All *satyagraha* and fasting is a species of *tyaga*. It depends for its effects upon an expression of wholesome public opinion shorn of all bitterness.

T-5-54

PUNISHMENT

Punishment is God's who alone is the infallible Judge.

T-4-299

My creed of non-violence does not favour the punishment of thieves and dacoits and even murderers.

T-3-62

Experience gained in two schools under my control has taught me that punishment does not purify, if anything, it hardens children.

T-2-218

No sin, no breach of nature's law, goes unpunished.

T-2-226

PURE—PURITY—PURIFICATION

Pure motives can never justify impure or violent action.

XXV-442

Never own defeat in a sacred cause and make up your minds henceforth that you will be pure and that you will find a response from God.

TIG-58

The purer I try to become, the nearer I feel to be to God.

TIG-9

Purification being highly infectious, purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings.

TIG-57

Purification is never for the selfishly idle, it accrues only to the selflessly industrious.

T-4-35

To a pure heart all hearts are pure.

XXV-509

Waiting on God means increasing purity.

XXV-515

Temple going is for the purification of the soul.

TIG-86

A spirit is not necessarily purer, because it is disembodied.

T-2-366

Confession of one's guilt purifies and uplifts. Its suppression is degrading and should always be avoided.

T-8-245

It is necessary first to purify the drunken and dissolute worshippers in charge of some of these temples.

T-2-261

God can never be realized by one who is not pure of heart.

TIG-57

Every single act of one who would lead a life of purity should be in the nature of *yajna*.

MOG-19

Civil disobedience can only lead to strength and purity.

T-2-7

A resolute and wise refusal to take part in festivities will be an incentive to introspection and self-purification.

T-8-179

Like the watch, the heart needs the winding of purity, or the Dweller ceases to speak.

MOG-17

Ramanama is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure.

TIG-114

Tulsidas's *Ramayana* is a notable book because it is informed with the spirit of purity, pity and piety.

MOG-14

I should wish to die if a man who is impure should parade his purity in front of me.

XXV-508

I would beseech you not only to be pure beyond suspicion but I would ask you to combine with stainless purity, great wisdom and great ability.

T-2-352

R

RAMA—RAMANAMA—RAM RAJ

Rama, Allah and God are to me convertible terms.

XXVI-28

For me, Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity.

T-2-37

Rama was not only on the lips of Hanuman. He was enthroned in his heart. He gave Hanuman exhaustless strength.

TIG-48

My Rama, the Rama of our prayers, is not the historical Rama, the son of Dasharatha, the king of Ayodhya.

TIG-110

Hinduism would not have been much of a religion, if Rama had not steeled his heart against every temptation.

T-2-150

It is the function of God Rama to destroy evil, wherever it occurs and it is equally the function of God Rama to give to his devotees like Bibhishana a free charter of irrevocable self-government.

T-2-297-128

Ramanama is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure.

TIG-114

Ramanama can be used only for a good, never for an evil end, or else the thieves and robbers would be the greatest devotees.

T-7-79

Ramanama purifies while it cures, and, therefore, it elevates.

TIG-114

Even *Ramanama* is by itself lifeless, but it has become a living symbol of the deity because millions of people have consecrated it.

T-5-92

By *Ram Raj* I do not mean Hindu *Raj*. I mean by *Ram Raj*, Divine *Raj*, the Kingdom of God.

T-2-375

RATIONALISM

Rationalists are admirable beings, but rationalism is a hideous monster when it claims for itself omnipotence.

TIG-91

READING

Reading comes before writing, and drawing before tracing the letters of the alphabet.

T-3-286

REALIZATION

The freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth.

TIG-37

Divine knowledge is not borrowed from books. It has to be realized in oneself.

TIG-94

REASON

Reason has to be strengthened by suffering, and suffering opens the eyes of understanding.

T-2-182

In man, reason quickens and guides the feeling; in brute, the soul lies ever dormant.

T-4-62

Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the purview of reason.

MM-64

If I know Hinduism at all, it is essentially inclusive and ever-growing, ever-responsive. It gives the freest scope to imagination, speculation and reason.

XXV-178

Nothing in the *Shastras* which is capable of being reasoned can stand if it is in conflict with reason.

T-4-42

There is no doubt that our last state will be worse than our first, if we surrender our reason into somebody's keeping.

T-2-62

Faith becomes lame when it ventures into matters pertaining to reason.

T-7-36

Islam appeals to people because it appeals also to reason.

XXVI-415

There can be no *Ram Raj* in the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which only a few roll in riches, while the masses do not get even enough to eat.

T-7-404

I have described *Swaraj* as *Ramarajya* and *Ramarajya* is an impossibility unless we have thousands of *Sitas*.

XXVI-367

Execution of the constructive programme in its entirety means more than *Swaraj*. It means *Ram Raj*, *Khudai Sultanat* or the Divine Kingdom.

T-7-32

Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under *Ramarajya*.

MM-326

My Hinduism teaches me to respect all religions. In this lies the secret of *Ramarajya*.

MM-327

REBELLION

Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion, a refusal to obey every single state-made law.

T-2-52

REFORM—REFORMER

A reformer's business is to make the impossible possible by giving an ocular demonstration of the possibility in his own conduct.

XXVI-68

A reformer has to sail not with the current, often he has to go against it, even though it may cost him his life.

T-7-114

Where is the reformer who has not a price put upon his head?

T-2-236

You cannot achieve durable reform by becoming impatient.

XXVI-295

Every Reform means awakening. Once truly awakened, the nation will not be satisfied with reform only in one department of life.

T-2-227

REGULARITY

Unless the whole work is done with clock-work regularity, it is impossible to organise it in a thorough manner.

XXV-285

No organisation is possible without punctilious regard to the observance of agreed time-tables.

XXV-285

RELIGION

Religion is a thing to be lived. It is not merely sophistry.

T-7-129

Religion is one tree with many branches. As branches, you may say, religions are many, but as tree, religion is only one.

T-3-244

All religions were, at bottom, one, though they differed in detail and outward form even like the leaves on a tree.

T-8-285

Even as a tree has a single trunk, but many branches and leaves, there is one religion, but any number of faiths.

TIG-65

The essence of true religious teaching is that one should serve and befriend all.

T-7-385

Religions are different roads converging to the same point.

X-29

Religion is the tie that binds one to one's Creator, and whilst the body perishes, as it has to, religion persists even after death.

T-4-41

God-given religion is beyond all speech.

TIG-65

Religion should be dearer than life itself.

T-8-153

Religion taught us to return good for evil.

T-8-120

Religion all the world over offered God as the solace and the comfort for all in agony.

T-2-212

Religion to be true must satisfy what may be termed humanitarian economics, that is, where the income and the expenditure balance each other.

T-2-268

A religious act cannot be performed with aid of the bayonet or the bomb.

T-4-314

Religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints.

T-2-5

Religion was entirely a personal matter. Each one could approach his Creator as he liked.

T-8-51

Religion is not like a house or a cloak which can be changed at will.

T-4-41

All religions teach that two opposite forces act upon us and the human endeavour consists in a series of eternal rejections and acceptances.

T-2-45

All the great religions of the world inculcate the equality and brotherhood of mankind and the virtue of toleration.

T-3-257

Purest religion is highest expediency. Many things are lawful but they are not all expedient.

XX-58

Religion is no test of nationality, but a personal matter between man and his God.

MM-103

All religions enjoined worship of the One God who was all-pervasive. He was present even in a drop of water or in a tiny speck of dust.

T-7-115

Unity among the different races and the different communities belonging to different religions of India is indispensable to the birth of national life.

XXVI-241

Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them.

MM-68

All religions are branches of the same mighty tree, but I must not change over from one branch to another for the sake of expediency.

T-7-283

All religions of the world describe God pre-eminently as the Friend of the friendless, Help of the helpless, and Protector of the weak.

T-3-192

No religion taught man to kill fellow-man because he held different opinions or was of another religion.

T-7-204

That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence.

It is a tragedy that religion for us means, today, nothing more than restrictions on food and drink, nothing more than adherence to a sense of superiority and inferiority.

T-3-280

A religion cannot be sustained by the number of its lip-followers denying in their lives its tenets.

T-3-220

The highest fulfilment of religion requires a giving up of all possessions.

MM-191

To befriend the one who regards himself as your enemy is the quintessence of true religion.

T-7-385

The external is in no way the essence of religion, but the external often proclaims the internal.

T-2-273

True material welfare is never inconsistent with performance of religious obligations.

T-3-225

A man without a religion is like a ship without a rudder.

T-3-223

To change one's religion under the threat of force was no conversion but rather cowardice.

T-7-274

It is not part of religion to breed buffaloes or, for that matter, cows.

T-2-267

Hypocrisy and distortion are passing currently under the name of religion.

T-7-128

'Physician, heal thyself' is more true in matters religious than mundane.

T-2-132

It was a travesty of true religion to consider one's own religion as superior and other's as inferior.

T-7-115

It is impossible that God, who is the God of Justice, could have made the distinctions that men observe today in the name of religion.

T-3-236

Where there is fear, there is no religion.

T-2-230

I cannot picture to myself a time when all mankind will have one religion.

XXVI-285

I believe that religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations.

EWE-30

I desire no honour if I have to conceal my religious beliefs in order to have it.

XIV-235

I know of no religion or sect that has done or is doing without its house of God, variously described as a temple, a mosque, a church, a synagogue or *agiari*.

T-3-194

I have felt that the *Gita* teaches us that what cannot be followed out in day-to-day practice cannot be called religion.

T-2-311

By religion I have not in mind fundamental ethics but what goes by the name of denominationalism.

EWE-31

In matters concerning religion, I consider myself not a child but an adult with 35 years of experience.

XIV-74

I claim to represent all the cultures, for my religion, whatever it may be called, demands the fulfilment of all the cultures.

T-5-272

I do regard Islam to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are.

TIG-80

It was through the Hindu religion that I learnt to respect Christianity and Islam.

XIV-74

Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation.

XX-159

My religion is a matter solely between my Maker and myself.

MM-116

My religion has no geographical limits.

T-2-6

My knowledge of the letter of the *Shastras* is better, but of true religion they are able to give me but little.

Bunch-108

My religion enables me, obliges me to imbibe all that is good in all the great religions of the earth.

MM-100

My religion is based on truth and non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realising Him.

XXV-558

My religion teaches me that a promise once made or a vow once taken for a worthy object may not be broken.

T-2-154

My personal religion peremptorily forbids me to hate anybody.

MM-183

My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists, under pain of civil suicide, upon imbibing and living my own.

EWE-19

My religion says that only he who is prepared to suffer can pray to God.

T-2-152

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray.

T-2-148

My religion teaches me that I should by my personal conduct instil into the minds of those who might hold different views the conviction that cow killing is a sin.

XXV-518

My respectful study of other religions has not abated my reverence for or my faith in the Hindu scriptures.

T-2-230

My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

T-2-6

My Hindu instinct tells me that all religions are more or less true.

T-2-132

My politics and all other activities of mine are derived from my religion.

MM-102

Fasting and prayer are common injunctions in my religion.

T-2-152

To me the *Mahabharata* is a profoundly religious book, largely allegorical, in no way meant to be a historical record.

TIG-95

Hindu religious literature, indeed all religious literature, is full of illustrations to prove the truth.

XXVI-158

Hinduism has become a conservative religion and, therefore, a mighty force because of the *swadeshi* spirit underlying it.

MM-410

Hinduism is not a codified religion.

T-2-285

Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets in the world.

MM-92

Hinduism with its message of *ahimsa* is to me the most glorious religion in the world.

MM-93

Hinduism had absorbed the best of all the faiths of the world and in that sense Hinduism was not an exclusive religion.

T-8-120

Hinduism would not have been much of a religion if Rama had not steeled his heart against every temptation.

T-2-150

Hindu *dharma* is like a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems.

TIG-85

If we would be pure, if we would save Hinduism, we must rid ourselves of this poison of enforced widowhood.

MM-299

We cry for cow protection in the name of religion, but we refuse protection to the human cow in the shape of the girl-widow.

T-2-227

Calling them *devadasis*, we insult God Himself in the name of religion.

T-2-280

In the name of religion, we force widowhood upon our three lakhs of girl-widows who could not understand the import of the marriage ceremony.

T-2-227

It is no religion to have for one's wife a girl who is fit only to sit in one's lap, but it is the height of irreligion.

T-2-273

Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion.

T-2-227

It is difficult for me to regard anyone who obeys no moral principle in his conduct to be a religious man.

XXVI-58

The fragrance of religious and spiritual life is much finer and subtler than that of the rose.

TIG-72

Religion of our conception, thus imperfect, is always subject to a process of evolution and re-interpretation.

TIG-65

If we import compulsion in matters of religion, there is no doubt that we shall be committing suicide.

XXVI-270

Dharma is one and one only. *Ahimsa* means *moksha*, and *moksha* is the realization of truth.

MOG-17

Ahimsa is the height of Kshatriya *dharma* as it represents the climax of fearlessness.

XXV-563

Belief in one God is the cornerstone of all religions.

MM-67

That is *dharma* which is enjoined by the holy books, followed by the sages, interpreted by the learned and which appealed to the heart.

MM-65

Even a little of this *dharma* saves one from many a pitfall.

T-2-89

Truth is my religion and *ahimsa* is the only way of its realization.

T-4-250

Politics bereft of religion are absolute dirt, ever to be shunned.

MM-102

The final goal of all religions is to realise the essential oneness.

MM-419

True religion being the greatest thing in life and in the world, it has been exploited the most.

BUNCH-42

To benefit by others' killing and delude oneself into the belief that one is being very religious and non-violent is sheer self-deception.

MM-429

To reject the necessity of temples is to reject the necessity of God, religion and earthly existence.

T-3-195

"Do not worry in the least about yourself, leave all worry to God," this appears to be the commandment in all religions.

MOG-19

Passive resistance seeks to rejoin politics and religion and to test every one of our actions in the light of ethical principles.

X-248

No Indian who aspires to follow the way of true religion can afford to remain aloof from politics.

XX-201

Love is the basis of our friendship as it is of religion.

MM-398

God, who is the embodiment of Truth and Right and Justice, can never have sanctioned a religion or practice which regards one-fifth of our vast population as untouchables.

T-3-280

Conversion without a clean heart is a denial of God and religion.

T-4-79

The practice of truth and non-violence melted the religious differences, and we learnt to see beauty in each religion.

T-5-225

Any imposition from without meant compulsion. Such compulsion was repugnant to religion.

T-8-61

Every person, as every institution, and, above all, every religion was to be judged not by the amount of atrocities or the wrong committed but by the right conduct.

T-8-25

RENUNCIATION

Renunciation is everyone's prerogative.

XXVI-361

Renunciation means absence of hankering after fruit.

T-2-310

The renunciation of the *Gita* is the acid test of faith.

T-2-310

Renunciation which is natural does not herald its coming by the blowing of trumpets. It comes in imperceptibly without letting anyone notice it.

XXVI-361

The secret of happy life lies in renunciation. Renunciation is life.

MM-192

Renunciation made for the sake of service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive one, because that nectar springs from within and sustains life.

T-7-66

Knowledge and devotion, to be true, have to stand the test of renunciation of the fruits of action.

T-2-309

The *sanyasa* of the *Gita* is all work and yet no work.

T-2-312

The *sanyasa* of the *Gita* will not tolerate complete cessation of activity.

T-2-311

This renunciation is the central Sun, round which devotion, knowledge and the test revolve like planets.

T-2-308

He who gives up action falls. He who gives up the reward rises. But renunciation of fruit in no way means indifference to the result.

T-2-310

That parrot's non-co-operation with the cage, with its master, will live for ever because it looks upon renunciation, non-co-operation, as a joy.

XXV-445

The secret of happy life lies in renunciation.

T-7-66

Let it be granted that, according to the letter of the *Gita*, it is possible to say that warfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit.

T-2-312

An ideal sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain, the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

T-2-333

Desirelessness or renunciation does not come for the mere talking about it.

TIG-99

REPOSE

Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily life.

TIG-43

REPRESSION

Ridicule is like repression. Both give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect.

T-2-9

RESEARCH

All research will be useless if it is not allied to internal research.

T-2-272

RESOLUTION

Mere promises mean nothing if there is not an unalterable resolution behind them.

XXV-530

To shirk taking of vows betrays indecision and want to culture.

T-2-365

RESPONSIBILITY

Responsibility will mellow and sober the youth and prepare them, for the burden they must discharge.

T-2-371

Every person in a well-ordered state is fully conscious of both his responsibility and rights.

XXV-420

RESTRAINT

Moral results can only be produced by moral restraints.

MM-285

Let India become alive by self-purification, that is, self-restraint and self-denial, and she will be a boon to herself and mankind.

T-2-56

RETALIATION

Retaliation is counter-poison and poison breeds more poison. The nectar of love alone can destroy the poison of hate.

T-5-241

RETIREMENT

The older men should yield with grace what will be taken from them by force if they do not read the signs of the times.

T-2-371

REVOLUTIONARY

Impatience will blur the revolutionary's vision and lead him astray.

XXVI-141

All criticism is not intolerance. I have criticized the revolutionary because I have felt for him. He has the same right to hold me to be in error as I believe him to be in error.

XXVI-141

REWARD

No past services, however brilliant, should be counted to distributing the present employments.

T-2-137

RICH

Justice should become cheap and expeditious. Today it is the luxury of the rich and the joy of the gambler.

T-4-182

Let there be no distinction between rich and poor, high and low.

XXVI-119

I own no property and yet I feel that I am perhaps the richest man in the world.

XXVI-561

RIDICULE

Ridicule is like repression. Both give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect.

T-2-9

RIGHT

Rights of true citizenship accrue only to those who serve the State to which they belong.

MM-135

The true source of rights is duty.

T-2-179

If we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek.

XXV-564

No people have risen who thought only of rights. Only those did so who thought of duties.

XXV-573

Out of the performance of duties flow rights, and those that knew and performed their duties came naturally by the rights.

XXV-573

A man can give up a right, but he may not give up a duty without being guilty of a grave dereliction.

T-2-324

There being no absolute and universal standard of right, terrorism must be held to be wrong in every case.

XXV-442

Immediately I arrogate to myself the exclusive title to being in the right, I usurp the function of the Deity.

XXV-442

Might of numbers or of the sword shall not be right. Right is the only true might, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

T-8-65

If all simply insist on rights and no duties, there will be utter confusion and chaos.

T-8-31

If leaving duties unperformed we run after rights, they will escape us like a will-o'-the wisp.

TIG-152

One man cannot do right in one department of life whilst he is occupied in doing wrong in any other department. Life is one indivisible whole.

MM-440

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms.

X-48

The safest rule of conduct is to claim kinship when we want to do service and not to insist on kinship when we want to assert a right.

T-2-300

Satan's snares are mostly subtly laid and are the most tempting when the dividing line between right and wrong is so thin as to be imperceptible.

T-2-55

The only thing that separates us from the brute, with which we have so much in common, is the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong.

T-4-158

Violence becomes imperative when an attempt is made to assert rights without any reference to duties.

T-4-13

Swaraj would be real Swaraj only when there would be no occasion for safeguarding any rights.

T-3-92

RIGHT ANGLE

An insignificant right angle will make all the difference between ugliness and elegance, solidity and shakiness of a gigantic structure.

T-2-365

If I have the definition of a right angle, I can make whatever angle I need.

T-3-289

RISK

If we want to overtake the storm which is about to burst on us, we must take bolder risks and sail full steam ahead.

T-2-286

ROME

Rome's decline began long before it fell.

MM-349

ROSE

The fragrance of religious and spiritual life is much finer and subtler than that of the rose.

TIG-72

A rose does not need to preach. It simply spreads its fragrance. The fragrance is its own sermon.

TIG-72

S

SACRIFICE

A life of sacrifice is the pinnacle of art, and is full of true joy.

MOG-21

God accepts the sacrifice of the pure in heart.

T-2-377

The State is sum total of the sacrifice, on its behalf, of its members.

XXV-420

The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man.

XXVI-141

The stability of a State depends upon the readiness of every citizen to subordinate his rights to those of the rest.

XXV-420

Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice.

T-2-25

The *charkha* is the symbol of sacrifice, and sacrifice is essential for the establishment of the image of the deity.

T-2-277

An ideal sanctified by the sacrifices of such master-spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain; the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the idea as time passes.

T-2-333

If I were overful of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not take my brother's.

X-30

Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering and her advent to public life should, therefore, result in purifying it, in restraining unbridled ambition and accumulation of property.

T-2-367

Non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice, and it demands respect for the opposite views.

T-2-11

SAD

It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt.

EWE-20

SAINT

A saint who considers himself superior to a sinner forfeits his sainthood and becomes worse than the sinner, who unlike the proud saint, knows not what he is doing.

TIG-153

The temples are for the sinners, not for the saints.

T-3-271

SALT

If salt loses its savour, wherewith can it be salted?

MM-262

There is no article like salt, outside water, by taxing which the state can reach the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless.

T-3-13

SALVATION

Salvation is nothing more and nothing less than being well in every way.

TIG-116

Salvation of the *Gita* is perfect peace.

TIG-100

Moksha is a bodyless superphysical state in which there is neither drinking nor eating and therefore neither the milking of buffalo nor the plucking even of a weed.

XXVI-335

SANITATION

The Brahmin's duty is to look after the sanitation of the soul, the *bhangi's* that of the body of society.

T-4-104

Every one must be his own scavenger.

MM-200

The West has come in for much blame for me, but its hygiene and sanitation are object-lessons for us.

T-2-274

Conservation of national sanitation is Swaraj work and it may not be postponed for a single day on any consideration whatsoever.

T-2-360

In the matter of outward sanitation we have to learn a great deal from the West.

XXVI-241

Corporate cleanliness can only be ensured if there is a corporate conscience and a corporate insistence on cleanliness in public places.

MM-396

To me, the test of a people's knowledge of sanitation is the condition of their latrines.

T-2-274

SANSKRIT

Every Hindu should have enough knowledge of Sanskrit to be able to express himself in that language.

T-2-273

SATAN

Satan's snares are most subtly laid and are the most tempting when the dividing line between right and wrong is so thin as to be imperceptible.

T-2-55

Satan mostly employs comparatively moral instruments and the language of ethics to give his aims an air of respectability.

T-2-17

Satan's 'successes' are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips.

MM-231

Since one Satan is one too many for me, I would not multiply him.

XXVI-489

Armed conspiracies against something satanic is like matching satans against Satan.

XXVI-489

A fast to be true must be accompanied by a readiness to receive pure thoughts and determination to resist all Satan's temptations.

TIG-52

I am not likely to obtain the result flowing from the worship of God by laying myself prostrate before Satan.

X-43

The British Government in India constitutes a struggle between the modern civilization, which is the kingdom of Satan, and the ancient civilization, which is the Kingdom of God.

X-189

God rules even where Satan seems to hold sway, because the latter exists only on God's sufferance.

T-7-147

Unless all the discoveries that you make have the welfare of the poor as the end in view, all your workshops will be really no better than Satan's workshops.

T-2-272

What crimes, for which we condemn the Government as satanic, have not we been guilty of towards our own untouchable brethren?

T-2-36

The eternal duel between Ormuzd and Ahriman, God and Satan, is raging in my breast, which is one among their billion battlefields.

XXV-450

SATYAGRAHA—SATYAGRAHI

Satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion, such that it covers all the elements of the society and in the end makes itself irresistible.

T-7-49

Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to search truth.

XXVI-273

Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth.

XXV-489

Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within.

XV-489

Satyagraha has been designed as an effective substitute for violence.

TIG-53

The grand theory of *satyagraha* is built upon a belief in that truth.

XXVI-158

All *satyagraha* and fasting is a species of *tyaga*. It depends for its effects upon an expression of whole-some public opinion shorn of all bitterness.

T-5-54

The fight of *satyagraha* is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. *Satyagraha* teaches us the art of living as well as dying.

T-7-76

The *satyagrahi* general has to obey his inner voice, for over and above the situation outside he examines himself constantly and listens to the dictates of the inner self.

T-5-111

Satyagraha, of which civil resistance is but a part, is to me the universal law of life.

T-3-298

Satyagraha is itself an unmistakable mute prayer of an agonised soul.

MM-446

Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family, its use can be extended to every other circle.

T-7-48

Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

T-8-39

Satyagraha and civil disobedience and fasts had nothing in common with the use of force, veiled or open.

T-8-100

Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon.

T-3-260

A genuine *satyagraha* should never excite contempt in the opponent even when it fails to command regard or respect.

T-5-8

Satyagraha thrives on repression till at last the repressor is tired of it and the object of *satyagraha* is gained.

T-6-2

In *satyagraha*, a courted imprisonment carries its own praise.

T-5-302

Final *satyagraha* in inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

T-5-131

Satyagraha does not depend on the outside help, it derives all its strength from within.

T-5-93

My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of *satyagraha* and not at all to describe how good I am.

T-2-217

The method of *satyagraha* requires that the *satyagrahi* should never lose hope, so long as there is the slightest ground left for it.

T-5-235

In the dictionary of *satyagraha*, there is no enemy.

T-5-162

Even as *satyagraha* is a weapon unique of its kind and not one of the ordinary weapons used by people, so is *khadi* a unique article of commerce which will not, cannot, succeed on terms common to other articles.

T-2-282

Since *satyagraha* is a method of conversion and conviction, it seeks never to use the slightest coercion.

XXVI-267

Jail-going is only the beginning, not the end of *satyagraha*. The acme of *satyagraha* for us would be to lay down our lives for the defence of India's just cause.

T-7-194

Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making.

MM-168

It is claimed for *satyagraha* that it is a complete substitute for violence or war.

T-3-260

For a *satyagrahi* brigade only those are eligible who believe in *ahimsa* and *satya*.

MM-177

Satyagraha is a force that has come to stay. No force in the world can kill it.

XXVI-292

Satyagraha does not begin and end with civil disobedience.

T-5-69

Satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.

MM-167

A clear victory of *satyagraha* is impossible so long as there is illwill.

MM-173

I regard the constituent assembly as the substitute of *satyagraha*. It is constructive *satyagraha*.

T-7-148

Non-co-operation and civil disobedience are but the different branches of the same tree called *satyagraha*.

XXV-489

Whatever may be true of the other modes of warfare, in *satyagraha* it has been held that the causes for failure are to be sought within.

T-5-187

Seeming failure is not of the law of *satyagraha* but of incompetence of the *satyagrahi* by whatever cause induced.

MGCG-301

There is no 'playing with truth' in the *charkha* programme, for *satyagraha* is not predominantly civil disobedience but a quiet and irresistible pursuit of Truth.

XXV-587

Without *satyagraha* carried out in the proper spirit, there is no victory, no Swaraj.

T-5-264

The word 'defeat' is not to be found in my dictionary, and everyone who is selected as a recruit in my army may be certain that there is no defeat for a *satyagrahi*.

T-5-264

What I call the law of *satyagraha* is to be deduced from an appreciation of duties and rights flowing therefrom.

T-8-31

Force that the performance of duty naturally generates is the non-violent and invincible force that *satyagraha* brings into being.

T-8-32

Not those who shout '*satyagraha*', '*satyagraha*' will do *satyagraha*, but those who will work for it.

T-5-264

There is a vital connection between *satyagraha* and *charkha*, and the more I find that belief challenged, the more I am confirmed in it.

T-5-264

There must be power in the word of a *satyagraha* general, not the power that the possession of limitless arms gives, but the power that purity of life, strict vigilance and the ceaseless application produce.

T-4-267

A *satyagrahi* is sometimes bound to use language which is capable of two meanings, provided both the meanings are obvious and necessary and there is no intention to deceive anyone.

T-4-159

My *satyagrahi* spirit tells me that I may not retaliate.

XXV-44

A *satyagrahi* should have a living faith in God.

T-5-92

A *Satyagrahi* turns the searchlight inward relentlessly to weed out all the defects that may be lying hidden there still.

T-5-81

A *satyagrahi* has infinite patience, abundant faith in others, and ample hope.

T-3-68

A *satyagrahi* has no other stay but God, and he who has any other stay or depends on any other help cannot offer *satyagraha*.

T-5-98

A *satyagrahi* cannot go to law for a personal wrong.

XXV-163

A *satyagrahi* loves his so-called enemy even as he loves his friend. He owns no enemy.

T-5-162

A *satyagrahi* must ceaselessly strive to realize and live truth. And he must never contemplate hurting anyone by thought, word or deed.

T-8-9

I have repeatedly stated that *satyagraha* never fails and that one perfect *satyagrahi* is enough to vindicate Truth.

XXV-489

The *satyagrahi* strives to reach the reason through the heart. The method of reaching the heart is to awaken the public opinion.

XXVI-327

A *satyagrahi* has always his minimum and it is the minimum that is wanted in connection with this struggle.

XXVI-266

The *satyagrahi* should not have any hatred in his heart against the opponent.

MM-176

There is no time limit for a *satyagrahi* nor is there a limit to his capacity for suffering.

XXVI-159

A *satyagrahi* is dead to his body even before the enemy attempts to kill him.

MM-169

A *satyagrahi* would neither retaliate nor would he submit to the criminal, but seek to cure him by curing himself.

T-7-190

No confirmed *satyagrahi* is dismayed by the dangers, seen or unseen, from his opponent's side.

T-7-148

To die without killing is the badge of a *satyagrahi*.

T-7-147

A *satyagrahi* is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding.

MM-170

A *satyagrahi* exhausts all other means before he resorts to *satyagraha*.

MM-170

A *satyagrahi*, whilst he is ever ready to fight, must be equally eager for peace.

MM-171

In the code of the *satyagrahi*, there is no such thing as surrender to brute force.

MM-171

You are no *Satyagrahi* if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death.

T-7-77

A *satyagrahi* lays down his life, but never gives up. That is the meaning of the 'do or die' slogan.

T-7-147

A *satyagrahi* may not ride two horses, truth and untruth, at the same time, nor, to change the metaphor, trim his sail to catch every breeze as you do in the name of communism.

T-8-9

No police officer could compel a *satyagrahi* to give evidence against a person who had confessed to him. A *satyagrahi* would never be guilty of a betrayal of trust.

T-7-190

SCAVENGER

A scavenger who works in His service shares equal distinction with a king who uses his gifts in His name and as a mere trustee.

TIG-137

A *bhangi*, if he is true to his salt, is a sanitarian.

XXVI-294

I am not ashamed to call myself a *bhangi*, and I ask every *bhangi* not to be ashamed of his calling.

XXVI-294

My mother was certainly a scavenger inasmuch as she cleaned me when I was a child.

XXVI-152

Society is sustained by several services. The *bhangi* constitutes the foundation of all services.

T-4-104

To clothe the *bhangi* with the dignity and respect due to him is the especial task and privilege of the educated class.

T-4-105

The ideal *bhangi* of my conception would be a Brahmin *par excellence*, possibly even excel him.

T-4-104

SCHOOLS

All our national schools ought to be converted into factories of our national ammunition, namely, constructive work.

T-3-3

SCIENCE

A science to be science must afford the fullest scope for satisfying the hunger of body, mind and soul.

T-4-119

Science has not so far discovered any recipe for making the body immortal.

TIG-113

To state the limitation of science is not to belittle it.

T-7-36

Scientific knowledge requires constant probing into the why and wherefore of every little process that you perform.

T-7-36

The Western science has made the discovery that society that is indifferent to the welfare of its servants suffers a heavy material loss.

T-3-225

Ahimsa is a science. The word 'failure' has no place in the vocabulary of science.

T-5-81

I know nothing of the science of astrology and I consider it to be a science, if it is a science, of doubtful value, to be severely left alone by those who have any faith in Providence.

T-2-314

SCRIPTURES

A prayerful study and experience are essential for a correct interpretation of the scriptures.

MOG-13

A man who would interpret the scriptures must have the spiritual discipline.

MOG-13

Every true scripture only gains by criticism.

XXVI-226

My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired.

TIG-7

The self-realization is the subject of *Gita*, as it is of all scriptures.

MOG-4

SELF

Searching of self ennobles, searching of others debases.

MM-439

SELF-CONFIDENCE

The history of the world is full of instances of men who rose to leadership by sheer force of self-confidence, bravery and tenacity.

T-3-23

Shraddha means self-confidence and self-confidence means faith in God.

XXV-88

SELF-CONTROL

A votary of *ahimsa* must cultivate a habit of unremitting toil, sleepless vigilance, ceaseless self-control.

T-5-80

SELF-DEFENCE

It was unalloyed self-suffering which was the truest form of self-defence which knew no surrender.

T-7-87

Individual civil disobedience was everybody's inherent right, like the right of self-defence in normal life.

T-7-34

The strength to kill is not essential for self-defence; one ought to have the strength to die.

T-3-3

Self-defence....is the only honourable course where there is unreadiness for self-immolation.

MM-145

SELF-DETERMINATION

If every component part of the nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no one nation and there is no independence.

T-5-272

SELF-GOVERNMENT

It is the function of God Rama to destroy evil wherever it occurs, and it is equally the function of God Rama to give to his devotees like Bibhishana a free charter of irrevocable self-government.

T-2-297

Non-violent attainment of self-government presupposes a non-violent control over the violent elements in the country.

T-2-83

Self-government to be self-government has merely to reflect the will of the people who are to govern themselves.

T-5-204

SELF-IMMOLATION

Not even self-immolation can be allowed to support a bad or an immoral cause.

XXV-442

SELF-INDULGENCE

Literature, full of the virtues of self-indulgence, served out in attractive forms, is flooding this country from the West and there is the greatest need for our youth to be on their guard.

T-2-31

SELFLESSNESS

Selflessness may be the purest form of selfishness.

XXVI-271

SELF-PITY

Self-pity comes when you do a thing for which you expect recognition from others.

MM-120

SELF-REALIZATION

Life is an aspiration. Its mission is to strive after perfection which is self-realization.

T-4-33

There is no other way of self-realization except the way of complete self-abandonment.

XXVI-350

This self-realization is the subject of the *Gita*, as it is of all scriptures.

TIG-98

To find Truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny, i.e. to become perfect.

TIG-3

What I want to achieve, what I have been striving and pining for these thirty years, is self-realization, that is, to see God face to face.

T-2-217

The object of the *Gita* appears to me to be that of showing the most excellent way to attain self-realization.

MOG-4

SELF-RELIANT

We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection and patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend.

T-2-32

SELF-RESPECT

In a self-respecting India, is not every woman's virtue as much every man's concern as his own sister's?

T-2-51

Man does not live by bread alone.
Many prefer self-respect to food.

XXVI-66

To yield to the threat or actual use of violence is a surrender of one's self-respect and religious conviction.

T-2-133

If we were strong, self-respecting and not susceptible to frightfulness, the foreign rulers would have been powerless for mischief.

T-2-303

Can it be ever dangerous for a lion to tell a number of other lions who in their ignorance consider themselves to be mere lambs that they, too, are not lambs but lions?

X-249

Self-respect and honour cannot be protected by others. They are for each individual himself or herself to guard.

T-5-249

SELF-RESTRAINT

Self-restraint is the very keystone of the ethics of vow-taking.

T-2-365

All the four stages in a man's life are devised by the seers in Hinduism for imposing discipline and self-restraint.

XXVI-375

SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS

There is always the fear of self-righteousness possessing us, the fear of arrogating to ourselves a superiority that we do not possess.

T-5-243

SELF-RULE

Rule of all without the rule of oneself would prove to be as deceptive and as disappointing as a painted toy mango, charming to look at but hollow and empty within.

T-4-63

As every country is fit to eat, to drink and to breathe, even so is every nation fit to manage its own affairs, no matter how badly.

MM-311

SELF-SACRIFICE

Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others.

XXVI-141

SELF-SUFFERING

My method is conversion, not coercion; it is self-suffering, not the suffering of the tyrant.

T-2-32

Love can never express itself by imposing suffering on others. It can only express itself by self-suffering, by self-purification.

T-3-221

SELF-SUPPORTING

If hand-spinning is an effective method of making India self-supporting, it must be made part of the franchise.

XXV-317

SELF-SURRENDER

God will rule the lives of all those who will surrender themselves without reservation to Him.

T-3-186

God demands nothing less than complete self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom that is worth having.

TIG-56

SERVICE

Service is not possible unless it is rooted in love or *ahimsa*.

TIG-138

Social service that savours of patronage is not service.

XXVI-365

Voluntary service of others demands the best of which one is capable, and must take precedence over service of self.

MOG-21

The platform of service is as big as the world. It is never overcrowded.

T-7-3

Khadi service, village service and the Harijan service are one in reality though three in name.

T-4-39

For me, humanitarian service, or rather service of all that lives, is religion. And I draw no distinction between such religion and politics.

XXV-52-3

My creed is service of God and therefore of humanity.

XXV-260

Human body is meant solely for service, never for indulgence.

T-7-66

Charkha is an instrument of service.

T-2-253

That prince is acceptable to me who becomes a prince among his people's servants.

XXV-564

God took and needed no personal service. He served His creatures without demanding any service for Himself in return.

T-4-304

Man becomes not the lord and master of all creation but he is its servant.

XXVI-545

The time is fast coming when politicians will cease to fear the religion of humanity and humanitarians will find entrance into political life indispensable for full service.

XXV-53

The foundation of service and your real training lie in spinning *Khaddar*.

XXVI-378

My non-violence bids me dedicate myself to the service of minorities.

T-7-385

Ahimsa must express itself through acts of selfless service of the masses.

T-5-81

Cent per cent *swadeshi* gives sufficient scope for the most insatiable ambition for service and can satisfy every kind of talent.

T-3-289

This belief in the necessity of English training has enslaved us. It has unfitted us for true national service.

EWE-8

Renunciation made for the sake of service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive one, because that nectar springs from within and sustains life.

T-7-66

The safest rule of conduct is to claim kinship when we want to do service and not to insist on kinship when we want to assert a right.

T-2-300

Men's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service.

TIG-135

SILENCE

Silence is a great help to a seeker after truth like myself.

TIG-61

Experience has taught me that silence is a part of the spiritual discipline of a votary of truth.

TIG-59

Modern civilization has taught us to convert night into day and golden silence into brazen din and noise.

TIG-60

The Divine Radio is always singing if we could only make ourselves ready to listen to it, but it is impossible to listen without silence.

TIG-60

SIMPLICITY

Simplicity is the essence of universality.

MM-82

Do not be lifted off your feet, do not be drawn away from the simplicity of your ancestors.

T-2-295

I cannot help thinking that it would be a great catastrophe, a great national tragedy, if you were to barter away your simplicity for this tinsel splendour.

T-2-301

SLAVE—SLAVERY

To end slavery, you must overcome the mental and physical inertia of the masses and quicken their intelligence and creative faculty.

T-7-36

Compulsory obedience to a master is a state of slavery, willing obedience to one's father is the glory of sonship.

T-4-36

The way of mutual strife and exclusiveness was the only way to perdition and slavery.

T-8-10

The mentality which made one section of the Indians look upon another as enemies was suicidal; it could only serve to perpetuate their slavery.

T-7-352

No one chains a slave without chaining himself.

T-3-139

A slave has not the freedom even to do the right thing.

T-2-6

My business is not to throw overboard the slave-holder and tyrant.

T-3-129

My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means for their fruit will be not freedom but slavery in disguise.

T-2-126

A slave-holder cannot hold a slave without putting himself or his deputy in the cage for holding the slave.

T-7-144

When a slave begins to take pride in his fetters and hugs them like precious ornaments, the triumph of the slave-owner is complete.

T-4-62

The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall.

MM-313

Golden fetters are no less galling to a self-respecting man than iron ones. The sting lies in the fetters, not in the metal.

MM-311

If as a member of a slave nation I could deliver the suppressed classes from their slavery without freeing myself from my own, I would do so today.

T-2-6

Freedom is like a birth. Till we are fully free, we are slaves.

MM-311

No nation keeps another in subjection without herself turning into a subject nation.

T-3-39

SMALL THINGS

We have grown into the habit of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

XXVI-375

SMOKING

Do not make the mistake that between drink and tobacco, drink is a lesser evil. No. If cigarette is Beelzebub, then drink is Satan.

T-2-280

SOCIALISM

I have looked up the dictionary meaning of socialism. It takes me no further than where I was before I read the definition.

BUNCH-118

The socialism that India can assimilate is the socialism of the spinning wheel.

T-3-285

If socialism means befriending one's enemies, I should be treated as a true socialist.

T-8-37

My socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books.

T-5-276

Real socialism had been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: 'All land belongs to *Gopal*, where then is boundary line?'

T-4-114

SOCIETY

Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy.

MM-343

Society is sustained by several services. The *bhang*i constitutes the foundation of all services.

T-4-104

The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society.

MM-271

Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society enriches both the individual and the society of which he is a member.

T-5-105

Differences of opinion were inevitable in a living society.

T-7-1

SOLDIER

Forgiveness adorns a soldier.

T-2-4

A soldier fights with an irresistible strength when he has blown up his bridges and burnt his boats. Even so, it is with a soldier of *ahimsa*.

T-5-127

We must treat arrest and imprisonment as a soldier who goes to battle seeks death.

T-2-52

A soldier in arms is trained to kill. Even his dreams are about killing.

T-4-285

SORROW

Sorrow and suffering make for character if they are voluntarily borne, but not if they are imposed.

T-3-122

SOUL—SOUL-FORCE

Soul-force comes only through God's grace and never descends upon a man who is a slave to lust.

T-4-63

The use of soul-force for turning stones into bread would have been considered, as it is still considered, as black magic.

X-248

History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute force is as nothing before soul-force.

MM-334

Great causes cannot be served by intellectual equipment alone, they call for spiritual effort or soul-force.

T-4-63

The strength of the soul can defy a whole world in arms against it.

MM-121

Bravery is not a quality of the body; it is of the soul.

MM-61

The force of spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world.

T-7-53

Spiritual force is like any other force at the service of man.

MM-83

Non-violence or soul-force too does not need physical aids for its propagation or effect.

T-4-290

Non-violence is an active force of the highest order. It is soul-force or the power of the godhead within us.

T-4-290

Non-violence is the attribute of the soul, and , therefore, to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life.

T-5-246

Only living things bring living joy to the soul and must elevate it.

T-3-147

Mere mental, that is, intellectual labour is for the soul and is its own satisfaction.

T-4-36

Anything which is a hindrance to the flight of the soul is a delusion and a snare, even like the body which often does hinder you in the path of salvation.

XXV-250

A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body and soul.

MM-379

Just as the body cannot exist without blood, so the soul needs the matchless and pure strength of faith.

TIG-112

The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

T-4-11

All true art must help the soul to realize its inner self.

T-2-159

To a true artist only the face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the truth within the soul.

T-2-159

Man is neither mere intellect, nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone.

EWE-22

Our life is a long and arduous quest for truth, and the soul requires inward restfulness to attain its full height.

TIG-61

Fear is a worse disease than malaria or *kalaazar*; these diseases kill the body, fear kills the soul.

T-2-304

The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth.

MM-416

The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law, to the strength of the spirit.

MM-23

My soul refuses to be satisfied so long as it is a helpless witness of a single wrong or a single misery.

MM-17

The sword was a rusty weapon. Its very effective substitute was the force of the spirit which cost nothing and which was indestructible.

T-8-34

A genuine fast cleanses the body, mind and soul. It crucifies the flesh and to that extent sets the soul free.

MM-35

SPIRITUAL—SPIRITUALISM

Spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating.

T-3-259

The deepest spiritual truths are always unutterable.

T-2-343

By spiritual training I mean education of the heart.

EWE-21

God is the vital force or spirit which is all-pervading, all-embracing and therefore beyond human ken.

TIG-45

The human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality.

T-2-225

Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within.

XXV-489

Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon.

T-3-260

The temples were like spiritual hospitals, and the sinful, who were spiritually diseased, had the first right to be ministered to by them.

T-3-270-71

Whatever else India may not be, she is at least one thing. She is the greatest storehouse of spiritual knowledge.

XXVI-333

Mortification of the flesh has been held all the world over as a condition of spiritual progress.

TIG-53

One's everyday life was never capable of being separated from his spiritual being.

T-7-350

There is no *yajna* (Sacrifice) greater than spinning claculated to bring peace to the troubled spirit, to soothe the distracted student's mind, to spiritualize his life.

XXV-577

Let not the spirit wander while the words of prayer run on out of our mouth.

TIG-43

I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him, and if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent.

XXV-390

STARVATION

Slow and inglorious self-imposed starvation among the starving masses is every time more heroic than the death of the scaffold under false exaltation.

XXVI-141

STATE

The state is the sum total of the sacrifice, on its behalf, of its members.

XXV-420

STRIKES

Strikes, cessation of work and *hartal* are wonderful things no doubt, but it is not difficult to abuse them.

MM-222

If he* were a cabinet minister, he would offer the strikers nothing whatever under the threat of a strike which implied force.

T-7-358

STRONG—STRENGTH

Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will.

T-2-5

A person who has truly realised the principle of non-violence has the God-given strength for his weapon and the world has not yet known anything that can match it.

T-4-297

* Ref. to Gandhiji himself

Whatever strength the masses have is due entirely to *ahimsa*, however imperfect or defective its practice might have been.

T-7-147

A definite forgiveness would mean a definite recognition of our strength.

T-2-5

The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory.

T-2-52

The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law, to the strength of the spirit.

T-2-5

If your heart acquires strength, you will be able to remove blemishes from others without thinking evil of them.

XXV-509

A soldier fights with an irresistible strength when he has blown up his bridges and burnt his boats.

T-5-127

If we were strong, self-respecting and not susceptible to frightfulness, the foreign rulers would have been powerless for mischief.

T-2-303

Just as the body cannot exist without blood, so the soul needs the matchless and pure strength of faith.

TIG-112

Every truth is self-acting and possesses inherent strength.

XXV-423

Civil disobedience can only lead to strength and purity.

T-2-76

Satyagraha does not depend on the outside help, it derives all its strength from within.

T-5-93

Non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest.

T-4-253

If God holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in the place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way.

T-5-213

The non-violence I teach is active non-violence of the strongest. But the weakest can partake in it without becoming weaker.

XXVI-140

STRUGGLE

Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by a struggle for mutual service.

T-4-36

STUDENT

A student is a searcher after truth.

XXVI-377

A student is he who continuously uses his faculty of observation, puts two and two together and carves out for himself a path in life.

XXVI-377

Vacation is just the period when the students' minds should be free from the routine work and be left free for self-help and original development.

T-2-373

SUCCESS

A burning passion coupled with absolute detachment is the key to all success.

MM-464

SUFFERING

Sorrow and suffering make for character if they are voluntarily borne, but not if they are imposed.

T-3-122

Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremest character voluntarily undergone.

T-3-37

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms.

X-48

True suffering does not know itself and never calculates.

MM-170

If a man voluntarily allows himself to be crushed, he yields the oil of moral energy which sustains the world.

X-386

Ahimsa means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering.

MM-295

India's freedom will not be won by violence but only by the purest suffering without retaliation.

T-2-164

*Nanda broke down every barrier and won his way to freedom not by brag, not by bluster, but by the purest form of self-suffering.

T-2-281

Reason has to be strengthened by suffering, and suffering opens the eyes of understanding.

T-2-182

The only way love punishes is by suffering.

T-2-87

There is no time limit for a *satyagrahi* nor is there is limit to his capacity for suffering.

XXVI-159

Civil disobedience means capacity for unlimited suffering, without the intoxicating excitement of killing.

XXV-365

* A South Indian Saint, Nandnar

Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.

T-2-5

The hardest heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering without anger and without malice.

XXVI-159

Only the toad under the harrow knows where it pinches him.

T-5-226

The quest of Truth involves *tapas* (self-suffering) sometimes even unto death.

TIG-21

I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow to the Moloch of war but they will rely upon their own capacity for suffering to save their country's honour.

T-5-171

I literally believe in the the possibility of a Sudhanva* smiling away whilst he was being drowned in the boiling oil.

XXVI-273

He who atones for sins never calculates; he pours out the whole essence of his contrite heart.

T-5-111

SUPERIORITY

Birth and observance of forms cannot determine one's superiority and inferiority.

T-3-280

SUPERMAN

The weapon of non-violence does not need supermen or superwomen to wield it; even beings of common clay can use it and have used it before this with success.

T-4-278

* A mythological hero who withstood all persecution bravely

SUPERSTITION

It is a sin to let simple folk such as the Gonds to be encouraged in the practice of superstition.

XXV-334

SUPREME JUDGE

There is that Supreme Judge who can hang you, but He leaves you alive.

MM-420

SWADESHI

True *swadeshi* is that alone in which all the processes through which cotton has to pass are carried out in the same village or town.

XX-37

Swadeshism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest *ahimsa*, i.e. love.

MM-415

My *swadeshi* chiefly centres round the handspun *khaddar* and extends to everything that can and is produced in India.

XXVI-279

Cent per cent *swadeshi* gives sufficient scope for the most insatiable ambition for service and can satisfy every kind of talent.

T-3-289

My nationalism is as broad as my *swadeshi*. I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit.

XXVI-279

I swear by *swadeshi* as it affords occasion for an ample exercise of all our faculties and as it tests every one of the millions of men and women, young and old.

T-2-54

The wearer of *khadi* from a *swadeshi* standpoint is like a man making use of his lungs.

T-2-56

Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humanity and love.

MM-412

I must not serve distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest.

XXVI-278

I refuse to buy from anybody anything however nice or beautiful if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom Nature has made my first care.

XXVI-278

My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house-top that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence and *swadeshi* is a message to the world.

T-2-64

India must protect her primary industries even as a mother protects her children against the whole world without being hostile to it.

XXV-369

If the people resolve and carry this programme of boycott and *swadeshi* out, they would not have to wait for Swaraj even for a year.

T-2-27

For a firm believer in *swadeshi*, there need be no Pharisaical self-satisfaction in wearing *khadi*.

T-2-56

Even *swadeshi*, like any other good thing, can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish.

MM-415

SWARAJ

Swaraj is a hardy tree of patient growth.

XXVI-245

Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the Swaraj (self-rule) of individuals.

MM-136

Swaraj, from its very nature, is not in the giving of anybody.

MM-319

The pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb.

MM-320

For winning Swaraj one requires iron discipline.

XXV-51

Swaraj will favour Hinduism no more than Islam, nor Islam more than Hinduism.

T-3-89

A Swaraj government means a government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Mussalmans and others.

XXV-478

Swaraj means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of English.

T-2-19

It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves.

X-39

Conservation of national sanitation is Swaraj work and it may not be postponed for a single day on any consideration whatsoever.

T-2-360

Swaraj means ability to regard every inhabitant of India as our own brother or sister.

T-2-51

Swaraj can only be achieved through an all-round consciousness of the masses.

T-3-274

Swaraj is not meant for cowards, but for those who would mount smilingly to the gallows and refuse even to allow their eyes to be bandaged.

T-2-346

Swaraj would be real Swaraj only when there would be no occasion for safeguarding any rights.

T-3-92

To get Swaraj is to get rid of our helplessness.

T-2-19

Swaraj means even under dominion status a capacity to declare independence at will.

T-2-240

Swaraj is not a product of excitement or intoxication. Swaraj will be the natural and inevitable result of business-like habits.

XXVI-244

Let the content of Swaraj grow with the growth of national consciousness and aspirations.

T-2-240

Swaraj does not depend on jail going. If it did, there are thousands of prisoners in jail today. It depends on everyone doing his or her own task.

T-4-29

Swaraj without any qualifying clause includes that which is better than the best one can conceive or have today.

T-2-240

So long as we fear the outside world, we must cease to think of Swaraj.

XXVI-162

Half-a-dozen or twenty cities of India alone working together cannot bring Swaraj.

XXVI-244

No Swaraj government with any pretension to being a popular government can possibly be organised and maintained on a war-footing.

XXV-478

Lovers of Swaraj cannot therefore rest till a solution is found which would allay Mussalman apprehensions and yet not endanger Swaraj.

XXVI-162

If Swaraj is to be had by peaceful methods, it will only be attained by attention to every little detail of national life.

T-2-360

We are aware that the business of Swaraj will thrive only if the boycott of foreign cloth is successful.

XXV-578

To ignore the Mussalman grievance as if it was not felt is to postpone Swaraj.

XXVI-162

It only confirms me in my belief that there is no Swaraj without a settlement with the Mussalmans.

T-5-261

If we want Swaraj to be built on non-violence, we will have to give the villages their proper place.

MM-370

Work for Swaraj fails to appeal to us because we have no music in us.

T-2-231

There can be no Swaraj where there is no harmony, no music.

T-2-230

Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of countrymen.

MM-317

My Swaraj will be not a result of murder of others but a voluntary act of continuous self-sacrifice.

MM-320

My Swaraj is to keep intact the genius of our civilization.

MM-321

Swaraj as conceived by me does not mean the end of kingship.

XXV-55

The Swaraj of my dream is the poor man's Swaraj.

T-3-65

The Swaraj of my dream recognises no race or religious distinctions.

MM-318

My Swaraj takes note of *bhangis*, *dheds*, *dublas* and the weakest of the weak, and except the spinning-wheel I know no other thing which befriends all these.

XXV-564

Swaraj is our birthright. No one can deprive us of it unless we forfeit it ourselves.

T-4-29

I know that not only is Swaraj our birthright, but it is our sacred duty to win it.

T-2-262

The cryptic meaning of Swaraj I have often described to be within the empire, if possible, without, if necessary.

T-2-240

If God gives me the privilege of dying for Hinduism of my conception, I shall have sufficiently died for the unity of all and even for Swaraj.

T-3-187

I want India to come to her own and that state cannot be better defined by any single word than Swaraj.

T-2-327

I have had the hardihood to say that Swaraj could not be granted even by God.

MM-319

I declare that we cannot win Swaraj for our famishing millions, for our deaf and dumb, for our lame and crippled, by the way of the sword.

T-3-77

With God as witness, I want to proclaim this truth, that the way of violence cannot bring Swaraj, it can only lead to disaster.

T-3-77

When large numbers of wholly innocent men are in jail, we may take it that Swaraj is at hand.

XX-51

We shall make progress towards Swaraj only if we do everything thoughtfully and with understanding.

XX-33

Prosecution of the constructive programme means constructing structure of Swaraj.

T-6-16

Every moment of my existence is dedicated to the winning of Swaraj by means of truth and non-violence.

T-3-79

The restoration of free speech, free association and free press is almost the whole Swaraj.

T-2-78

Destruction of the churches and the like is not the way to Swaraj as defined by the Congress.

T-7-68

If it is by force that we wish to achieve Swaraj, let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may.

T-2-92

Non-co-operation and civil disobedience in terms of Swaraj were not to be thought of without substantial constructive effort.

T-7-33

Let us by prayer purify ourselves and we shall not only remove untouchability but shall also hasten the advent of Swaraj.

XXV-515

So long as the untouchability disfigures Hindusim, so long do I hold the attainment of Swaraj to be an utter impossibility.

T-2-183

The *khadi* work without the mastery of the science of *khadi* will be love's labour lost in terms of Swaraj.

T-7-36

The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is Swaraj.

T-2-63

The get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj.

EWE-46

Unless non-violence of the strong is really developed among us, there should be no thought of civil disobedience for Swaraj, whether within the states or in British India.

T-5-71

A bogus Congress register can never lead you to Swaraj any more than a paper boat can help you to sail across the Padma.*

T-5-240

SWORD

Reliance upon the sword is wholly inconsistent with reliance upon God.

T-2-237

The sword is too much in evidence among the Mussalmans. It must be sheathed if Islam is to be what it means: peace.

T-2-237

Islam was born in an environment where the sword was and still remains the supreme law.

T-2-237

India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial.

T-2-6

If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart.

T-2-6

The essential part of your message to the country is not how to wield the sword, but to cease to be afraid of it.

T-7-114

* The great river of Bengal formed after the confluence of the Ganga with the Brahmaputra

T

TABOO

In *ahimsa*, wars were not only not taboo, but nobody observed the contradiction between them and *ahimsa*.

TIG-103

TAXATION

All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the taxpayer in the form of necessary services.

T-4-173

TEACHER

What... does Jesus mean to me? To me, He was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had.

TIG-79

No teacher can be held responsible for a caricature of his teachings.

T-7-402

TEMPLES

I know of no religion or sect that has done or is doing without its house of God, variously described as a temple, a mosque, a church, a synagogue or *agiari*.

T-3-194

I hold it a blasphemy to say that the Creator resides in a temple from which a particular class of His devotees sharing the faith in it are excluded.

T-3-219

It is necessary first to purify the drunken and dissolute worshippers in charge of some of these temples.

T-2-261

The temples are for the sinners, not for the saints.

T-3-271

The temples were like spiritual hospitals, and the sinful, who were spiritually diseased, had the first right to be ministered unto by them.

T-3-270-71

Temples are meant for sinners where they can wash away their sins.

T-3-230

TEMPTATION

Learning takes us through many stages in life but it fails us utterly in the hours of danger and temptation.

XXVI-28

TERRORISM

Terrorism and deception are weapons not of the strong but of the weak.

T-2-20

THINKING

Today, it is certain that the millions cannot have high living and we the few who profess to do the thinking for the masses run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of missing high thinking.

T-3-94

THOUGHTS

Deeds are indifferent caricatures of our thoughts.

XXVI-297

All your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and Wordsworth would be vain if at the same time you do not build your character and attain mastery over your thoughts and your actions.

T-2-376

It is rarely that language succeeds as a vehicle of thought. More often than not it conceals thought. Always language circumscribes thought.

XX-5

Thought is never complete unless it finds expression in action and action limits your thought.

MM-495

Thoughts which turn us away from God, or do not turn us towards Him, constitute impediments in our way.

MM-190

TIME

Time is always on the side of those who will wait upon it.

XXVI-268

Truth alone will endure, all the rest will be swept away before the tide of time.

T-7-178

Time is wealth, and the *Gita* says the Great Annihilator annihilates those who waste time.

T-2-274

TOLERANCE—TOLERATION

Tolerance gives us spiritual insight, which is as far from fanaticism as the north pole is from the south.

TIG-66

Tolerance implies a gratuitous assumption of the inferiority of other faiths to one's own.

TIG-64

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right and wrong, or good and evil.

TIG-66

Toleration is the only thing that will enable persons belonging to different religions to live as good neighbours and friends.

MM-401

Mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races.

MM-401

Decency and toleration, to be of any value, must be capable of standing the severest strain.

T-8-132

Unless we are able to evolve a spirit of mutual toleration for diametrically opposite views, non-co-operation is an impossibility.

T-2-12

God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Tolerance incarnate, allows Mammon to have his nine days' wonder.

TIG-144

The first step in non-violence is that we cultivate in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, humility, tolerance, and loving kindness.

T-4-236

The need of the moment is not one religion, but mutual respect and tolerance of the devotees of the different religions.

XXV-179

The sacred thread and the tuft of hair did not make a Hindu, without a pure heart and a spirit of toleration.

T-7-413

TOLSTOY

What has appealed to me most in Tolstoy's life is that he practised what he preached and reckoned no cost too great in his pursuit of truth.

T-2-317

Tolstoy's so-called inconsistencies were a sign of his development and his passionate regard for truth.

T-2-318

I do not believe that "My philosophy" is an indifferent mixture of Tolstoy and Buddha.

XXVI-140

TOOLS

It is a bad carpenter who quarrels with his tools. It is a bad general who blames his men for faulty workmanship.

T-4-267

TRAGEDY

It is a tragedy of the first magnitude that the millions have ceased to use their hands as hands.

T-2-251

TREACHERY

If treachery is the reward of trust,
will the man who trusts come to harm?

XXV-509

TRUST

Trust put on is worse than useless.
Trust felt is the thing that counts.

MGCG-199

Men to be men must be able to trust
their womenfolk, even as the latter are
compelled to trust them.

T-2-249

Trustworthy action will dispel all
mistrust or distrust as the sun dispels the
morning mist.

MGCG-199

Trusting one another, however, can
never mean trusting with the lip and
mistrusting in the heart.

XXV-436

Are we sure that the leaders trust one
another? My fear is that neither at the
top, nor at the bottom, are we cleansed
of hypocrisy.

T-8-74

If treachery is the reward of trust,
will the man who trusts come to harm?

XXV-509

A scavenger who works in His
service shares equal distinction with a
king who uses his gifts in His name and
as a mere trustee.

TIG-137

Each and every one of you should
consider himself to be a trustee for the rest of
his fellow labourers and not be self-seeking.

T-2-297

TRUTH

Truth is what the voice within tells you.

T-3-144

Truth is the right designation of God.

TIG-21

Truth and *ahimsa* will never be
destroyed.

T-5-245

Truth is like a vast tree which yields
more and more fruit the more you
nurture it.

MM-43

Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

T-2-143

Truth and non-violence are perhaps
the activist forces you have in the world.

T-3-145

Truth alone will endure, all the rest
will be swept away before the tide of
time.

T-7-178

Religious truth, or for that matter any
truth, requires a calm and meditative
atmosphere for its percolation.

T-3-269

Truth and untruth often co-exist;
good and evil often are found together.

TIG-107

Truth stands for the fact, non-
violence negatives the fact.

MOG-14

Truth is self-evident, non-violence is
its maturest fruit. It is contained in
Truth, but is not self-evident.

MOG-14

Truth—*sat*—is positive, non-
violence is negative.

MOG-14

All truths, not merely true ideas, but
truthful faces, truthful pictures, or
songs, are highly beautiful.

XXV-249

Every truth is self-acting and
possesses inherent strength.

XXV-423

Truth, which is permanent, eludes the
historian of events. Truth transcends
history.

T-2-11

Truth and *ahimsa* demand that no
human being may debar himself from
serving any other human being, no
matter how sinful he may be.

XXVI-374

Truth is God, and Truth overrides all our plans. The whole Truth is only embodied within the hearts of Great Power Truth.

T-7-363

Truth is the first to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added unto you.

XXV-255

Truth is not truth merely because it is ancient. Nor is truth necessarily to be regarded with suspicion because it is ancient.

T-4-57

Truth should so humble that even the dust could crush him.

MM-43

Truth without humility would be an arrogant caricature.

TIG-38

A man of truth must ever be confident, if he has also equal need to be diffident.

T-2-204

A seeker after truth, a follower of the law of Love, cannot hold anything against tomorrow.

MM-188

An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation, nor does truth become error because nobody sees it.

TIG-94

All faiths constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect and liable to error.

TIG-65

The path of Truth is as narrow as it is straight. Even so is that of *ahimsa*.

TIG-36

The quest of Truth involves *tapas*—self-suffering—sometimes even unto death.

TIG-21

Though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all.

T-3-144

Truth and non-violence are perhaps the activist forces you have in the world.

T-3-145

The panoplied warrior of Truth and non-violence is ever and incessantly active.

T-3-145

The greater the realization of truth and *ahimsa*, the greater the illumination.

XXV-521

Devotion to Truth is the sole justification for our existence.

TIG-20

Every expression of truth has in it the seeds of propagation, even as the sun cannot hide its light.

T-4-13

God alone is Truth and everything else is transitory and illusory.

XXVI-265

God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great.

XXV-479

God of Truth and Justice can never create distinctions of high and low among His own children.

T-3-221

If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to a zero.

T-3-144

Nobody in this world possesses absolute truth.

MM-45

Not violence, not untruth but non-violence, Truth is the law of our being.

MM-444

One is ever young in the felt presence of the God of Truth or Truth which is God.

T-5-71

One cannot reach Truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth.

T-8-38

Search for Truth is search for God.
Truth is God. God is because Truth is.

T-3-293

When you want to find Truth as God,
the only inevitable means is love, that is,
non-violence.

T-3-144

We may not go about parroting truth
and non-violence and steering clear of
them in our daily life.

T-5-180

Where there is truth, there also is
knowledge which is true.

TIG-20

Truth and non-violence are both the
means and the end, and given the right
type of men, the legislatures can be the
means of achieving the concrete pursuit
of truth and non-violence.

T-4-161

Truth and non-violence are no
cloistered virtues but are applicable as
much in the forum and the legislatures
as in the marketplace.

T-4-161

Use truth as your anvil, non-violence
as your hammer and anything that does
not stand the test when it is brought to
the anvil of truth and hammered with
ahimsa, reject as non-Hindu.

XXVI-374

A man of faith will remain steadfast
to truth even though the whole world
might appear to be enveloped in
falsehood.

MM-47

A man with a grain of faith in God
never loses hope, because he ever
believes in the ultimate triumph of
Truth.

XXV-188

A successful search for truth means
complete deliverance from the dual
throne, such as of love and hate,
happiness and misery.

MM-44

Even the atheists, who have
pretended to disbelieve in God, have
believed in Truth.

T-3-294

Satyagraha is search for Truth, and
God is Truth.

XXV-489

There is no "playing with truth" in the
charkha programme, for *Satyagraha* is
not predominantly civil disobedience but
a quiet and irresistible pursuit of Truth.

XXV-587

The deepest spiritual truths are
always unutterable.

T-2-343

The highest truth needs no
communicating, for it is by its very
nature self-propelling. It radiates its
influence silently as the rose its
fragrance without the intervention of a
medium.

T-2-343

The instruments for the quest of
Truth are as simple as they are difficult.

TIG-33

The Law is God. Anything attributed
to Him is not a mere attribute. He is
Truth, Love, Law and a million things
that human ingenuity can name.

T-3-250

The patriotic spirit demands loyal
and strict adherence to non-violence and
truth.

T-2-92

We dare not enter the kingdom of
liberty with mere lip-homage to truth
and non-violence.

T-2-85

Where there is honest effort, it will
be realized that what appear to be
different truths are like the countless
and apparently different leaves of the
same tree.

TIG-21

In Hinduism we have got an admirable footrule to measure every *Shashtra* and every rule of conduct, and that is truth.

T-2-285

Hindu religious literature, indeed all religious literature, is full of illustrations to prove the truth.

XXVI-158

Nothing in the *Shastras* which is manifestly contrary to universal truths and morals can stand.

T-4-42

I believe in what Max Muller said years ago, namely, that truth needed to be repeated as long as there were men who disbelieved it.

TIG-143

I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth, truth persists, in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence I gather that God is life, Truth, Light. He, is Love. He is the supreme Good.

T-2-313

I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God.

T-5-295

I know no diplomacy save that of truth.

XXV-423

I know that a man who forsakes Truth can forsake his country and his nearest and dearest ones.

T-2-236

I have repeatedly stated that *satyagraha* never fails and that one perfect *satyagrahi* is enough to vindicate Truth.

XXV-489

I will say that if there is anything like God or Truth on earth, Hindu-Muslim unity is also possible.

T-2-236

I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

T-5-58

If I am true to myself, if I am true to mankind, if I am true to humanity, I must understand all the faults that human flesh is heir to.

T-2-199

If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that God is Truth.

T-3-144

The only virtue I want to claim is truth and non-violence.

T-2-84

There is nothing on earth that I would not give up for the sake of the country, excepting, of course, two things and two only, namely, truth and non-violence.

T-2-235

With God as witness, I want to proclaim this truth, that the way of violence cannot bring Swaraj, it can only lead to disaster.

T-3-77

I would far rather that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth.

T-3-113

I acknowledge no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness.

MM-326

My *anekantavada* is the result of the twin doctrine of *satya* and *ahimsa*.

TIG-12

My errors have been errors of calculation and in judging men, not in appreciating the true nature of truth and *ahimsa* or in their application.

T-2-204

My experience teaches me that truth can never be propagated by doing violence.

MM-177

My faith in truth and non-violence is ever growing, and as I am ever trying to follow them in my life, I too am growing every moment.

T-4-15

My religion is based on truth and non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realizing Him.

XXV-558

Mine may today be a voice in the wilderness, but it will be heard when all other voices are silenced, if it is the voice of truth.

T-7-178

Truth is my God, I can only search Him through non-violence and in no other way.

T-3-298

Truth is my religion and *ahimsa* the only way of its realization.

T-4-250

Truth to me is infinitely dearer than the 'mahatmaship' which is purely a burden.

MM-1

Every moment of my existence is dedicated to the winning of Swaraj by means of truth and non-violence.

T-3-79

For me, Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness.

T-2-375

For me the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth or the Inner Voice or 'the still small voice' mean one and the same thing.

TIG-2

To me God is Truth and Love, God is ethics and morality, God is fearlessness.

TIG-10

God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may He be so to every one of us.

TIG-22

Indeed, the errors and my prompt confessions have made me surer, if possible, of my insight into the implications of truth and *ahimsa*.

T-2-204

It is an ever-growing belief with me that truth cannot be found by violent means.

T-3-217

Let hundreds like me perish, but let the truth triumph.

T-2-217

Prayer has not been a part of my life in the sense that truth has been.

T-3-110

Silence is a great help to a seeker after truth like myself.

TIG-61

The attainment of national independence is to me a search after truth.

T-3-217

What has appealed to me most in Tolstoy's life is that he practised what he preached and reckoned no cost too great in his pursuit of truth.

T-2-317

Without living Truth, God is nowhere.

T-8-270

If we had attained the full vision of Truth, we would no longer be seekers, but become one with God, for Truth is God.

TIG-6

God, who is the embodiment of Truth and Right and Justice, can never have sanctioned a religion or practice which regards one-fifth of our vast population as untouchables.

T-3-288

If fighting for the legislatures meant a sacrifice of truth and non-violence, democracy would not be worth a moment's purchase.

T-4-1

Our life is a long quest after Truth, and the soul requires inward restfulness to attain its full height.

TIG-61

Your character must be above suspicion and you must be truthful and self-controlled.

XXVI-297

Tolstoy's so-called inconsistencies were a sign of his development and his passionate regard for truth.

T-2-318

The patriotic spirit demands loyal and strict adherence to non-violence and truth.

T-2-92

Exercise of faith will be the safest where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to Truth and Love.

TIG-9

The *charkha* is an outward symbol of truth and non-violence.

T-5-265

If the people knew the working of the law of truth and non-violence, then they would themselves regulate the matter of shortage.

T-8-40

The first step in non-violence is that we cultivate in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, humility, tolerance and loving kindness.

T-4-236

Buddha renounced every worldly happiness because he wanted to share with the whole world his happiness which was to be had by men who sacrificed and suffered in the search for truth.

T-2-295

Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to search truth.

XXVI-273

A seeker of truth will never begin by discounting his opponent's statement as unworthy of trust.

MM-324

The way of peace is the way of truth. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness.

MM-153

Truthful conduct alone can reach truth.

MM-248

Finite human being shall never know in its fullness Truth and Love which is in itself infinite.

MM-20

Openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it if there is any.

MM-342

To find truth completely is to realise oneself and one's destiny, i.e. to become perfect.

MM-18

The practice of truth and non-violence melted the religious differences, and we learnt to see beauty in each religion.

T-5-225

Those who are truthful, non-violent and brave do not cease to be so because of the stupidity of their leader.

T-5-128

To a true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the truth within the soul.

T-2-159

Death is at any time blessed but it is twice blessed for a warrior who dies for his cause, that is, truth.

T-2-237

Names and forms matter little; they come and go. That which is permanent and therefore necessary eludes the historian of events. Truth transcends history.

XXV-129

The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living on those principles.

T-5-93

Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them.

TIG-37

U

UNDERSTANDING

Reason has to be strengthened by suffering and suffering opens the eyes of understanding.

XXVI-271

Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world will disappear, if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint.

XXVI-271

UNITY

Unity among the different races and the different communities belonging to different religions of India is indispensable to the birth of national life.

XXVI-241

A unity heart can be achieved between pure hearts, purged of distrust; and that can be achieved only outside the conference.

T-3-60

I believe in *advaita*, I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives.

XXV-390

My motto is "Unite now, today if you can, fight if you must, but in every case avoid British intervention".

XXVI-233

We are all leaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off its roots, which are deep down in the bowels of earth.

T-7-169

UNIVERSAL

Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances.

T-5-35

Yajna having come to us with our birth, we are debtors all our lives and thus for ever bound to serve the universe.

TIG-138

UNIVERSITY

The aim of university education should be to turn out true servants of the people, who would live and die for the country's freedom.

T-7-176

A university never needs a pile of majestic buildings and treasurers of gold and silver. What it does need most of all is the intelligent backing of public opinion.

T-8-165

The State Universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting through the fees charged for examinations.

EWE-26

University is at the top. A majestic top can only be sustained if there is a sound foundation.

EWE-27

It is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities.

EWE-28

There is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.

EWE-28

The mechanical university study deprives us of the desire for originality, years of memorizing cause a fatigue of the mind that makes most of us fit for the clerical work.

T-4-166

UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is a hydra-headed monster.

XXVI-330

Untouchability is an error of long standing.

XXVI-268

Untouchability I hold is a sin, if *Bhagavad Gita* is one of our Divine Books.

XXVI-349

Untouchability of foreign cloth is as much a virtue with all of us as untouchability of the suppressed classes must be a sin with every devout Hindu.

T-2-53

Untouchability is a terrible reality.

XXV-25

The untouchability of Hinduism is probably worse than that of the modern imperialists.

XXV-397

'Touch-me-not'ism that disfigures the present-day Hinduism is a morbid growth.

T-3-257

To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves.

XXV-479

The removal of untouchability is one of the highest expressions of *ahimsa*.

T-4-239

God never made man that he may consider another man as an untouchable.

XXVI-354

I regard untouchability as such a grave sin as to warrant divine chastisement.

T-3-249

I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived.

T-3-128

I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables for the sake of winning the freedom of India.

T-3-128

I would bend the knee before the poorest scavenger, the poorest untouchable in India, for having participated in crushing him for centuries, I would even take the dust off his feet.

T-3-114

In battling against untouchability, and in dedicating myself to that battle, I have no less an ambition than to see a full regeneration of humanity.

T-3-196

If untouchability lives, Hinduism must die.

MM-108

Men like me feel that untouchability is no integral part of Hinduism, it is an excrescence.

T-3-183

My fight against untouchability is a fight against the impure in humanity.

T-3-168

We shall dig our own grave if we do not purge ourselves of this curse of untouchability.

T-3-233

The more I study the Hindu scriptures, and the more I discuss them with Brahmins, the more I feel convinced that untouchability is the greatest blot upon Hinduism.

T-3-196

My mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussalman passing by.

T-2-35

Let us by prayer purify ourselves and we shall not only remove untouchability but shall also hasten the advent of Swaraj.

XXV-515

When untouchability is rooted out, these distinctions will vanish and no one will consider himself superior to any other.

T-7-50

Untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. It is a canker eating into its vitals.

T-3-223

Hinduism dies if untouchability lives, and untouchability has to die if Hinduism is to live.

T-3-183

Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability.

T-2-36

There is no 'as far as possible' on the question of untouchability. If it is to go, it must go in its entirety from the temples as from everywhere else.

T-4-81

Harijan service is a duty the caste Hindus owe to themselves.

T-3-203

The Hinduism loses its right to make a universal appeal, if it closes its temples to the *Harijans*.

T-3-195

Untouchability is a many-headed monster and appears in many shapes and forms, some of them so subtle as not to be easily detected.

T-3-230

Ravana was a *rakshasa* but this *rakshasi* of untouchability is even more terrible than Ravana.

XIV-74

The removal of untouchability is a question of the purification of Hinduism.

T-2-342

If untouchability is an integral part of Hinduism, the latter is a spent bullet.

T-4-99

If untouchability lives, Hinduism perishes and even India perishes, but if untouchability is eradicated from the Hindu heart root and branch, then Hinduism has a definite message for the world.

T-4-99

Hindu-Muslim unity, *khaddar* and removal of untouchability are to me the foundation of Swaraj.

XXVI-444

So long as the untouchability disfigures Hinduism, so long do I hold the attainment of Swaraj to be an utter impossibility.

T-2-183

It is a crime and a sin to regard a person as untouchable because he is born in a particular community.

XXVI-349

To say that a single human being, because of his birth, becomes an untouchable, unapproachable or invisible, is to deny God.

XXVI-373

The attack on untouchability is an attack on this high-and low-ness.

MM-108

What crimes, for which we condemn the Government as satanic, have not we been guilty of towards our own untouchable brethren?

T-2-36

Anger, lust and such other evil passions raging in the heart are the real untouchables.

T-3-230

A true man of piety will consider himself a sinner and, therefore, untouchable.

T-3-230

Diversity there certainly is in the world, but it means neither inequality nor untouchability.

T-3-230

We cannot have real independence unless the people banish the touch-me-not spirit from their hearts.

T-4-163

Whilst the Bihar calamity* damages the body, the calamity brought about by untouchability corrodes the very soul.

T-3-248

For me there is a vital connection between the Bihar calamity* and the untouchability campaign.

T-3-248

Our struggle does not end so long as there is a single human being considered untouchable on account of his birth.

T-3-239

We are too nearer the scene of tragedy to realize that this canker of untouchability has travelled far beyond its prescribed limits and has sapped the very foundations of the whole nation.

T-3-182

No stone should be left unturned to bring home to the family members that untouchability is a sin and a blot on Hinduism.

T-4-158

The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes.

XXV-479

UNTRUTH

Truth and untruth often co-exist; good and evil are often found together.

TIG-107

An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation, nor does truth become error because nobody sees it.

TIG-94

A man of God never strives after untruth and therefore he can never lose hope.

XXV-198

When there is no desire for fruit, there is also no temptation for untruth or *himsa*.

T-2-311

My name on the lips and black caps on the heads, what a terrible contrast! What a lie!

XXVI-575

Experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence.

XXV-424

UTILITY

Every bone picked up is valuable raw material from which useful articles can be made or which can be crushed into rich manure.

T-4-17

The amount of public support that an institution can command affords a true measure of its utility.

T-2-370

* Earthquake disaster of Jan. 1934

V

VACCINATION

I have no doubt in my mind that vaccination is a filthy process, that it is harmful in the end and that it is little short of taking beef.

T-3-4

VARNASHRAM DHARMA

My *varnashram dharma* teaches me that there must be some significance in the fact of my being born in India instead of in Europe.

XX-49

I do regard *varnashram* as a healthy division of work based on birth.

XXVI-540

My *varnashram* refuses to bow the head before the greatest potentate on earth, but my *varnashram* compels me to bow down my head in all humility before knowledge, purity, before every person where I see God face to face.

T-2-283

VEDAS

Words have, like man himself, an evolution, and even a Vedic text must be rejected if it is repugnant to reason and contrary to experience.

T-2-273

The story of a *shudra* having been punished by Ramchandra for daring to learn the *Vedas*, I reject as an interpolation.

TIG-94

The *Vedas* are as indefinable as God and Hinduism.

T-3-181

VEGETARIANISM

The correct way for the people to spread vegetarianism was to reason out its beauties, which should be exhibited in their lives.

T-8-175

VICE

Vice pays a homage to virtue, and sometimes the way it chooses is to expect virtue not to fall from its pedestal even whilst vice is rampant round about.

T-3-3

We should cease to grow the moment we cease to discriminate between virtue and vice, and slavishly copy the past which we do not fully know.

T-2-51

VICTORY

The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory.

T-2-52

Without *satyagraha* carried out in the proper spirit, there is no victory, no *swaraj*.

T-5-264

VILLAGES

A *samagra gramasevak* must know everybody living in the village and render them such service as he possibly can.

T-7-46

Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.

EWE-24

Coal is not dear for the coal-miner who can use it there and then, nor is *khadi* dear for the villager who manufactures his own *khadi*.

T-4-3

Education should be so revolutionized as to answer the wants of the poorest villager, instead of answering those of an imperial exploiter.

T-4-18

Healthy and nourishing food was the alpha and omega of rural economy.

T-7-181

If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim variety for my picture in which the last is equal to the first, or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

T-7-169

If the village worker is not a decent man or woman, conducting a decent home, he or she had better not aspire after the high privilege and honour of becoming a village worker.

T-4-43

If we want to impart education best suited to the needs of the villagers, we should take the *vidyapith* to the villages.

T-4-163

India's way is not Europe's; India is not Calcutta and Bombay. India lives in her seven hundred thousand villages.

XXVI-286

I would like to bury myself in an Indian village, preferably in a Frontier* village.

T-3-299

Khaddar is an attempt to revise and reverse the process and establish a better relationship between the cities and villages.

T-2-256

Khaddar was conceived with a much more ambitious object, that is, to make our villages starvation-proof.

T-3-292

Khadi is the sun of the village solar system.

T-4-4

Khadi service, village service and the *Harijan* service are one in reality, though three in name.

T-4-39

No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye.

T-2-99

Organization of *Khaddar* is infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organization.

XXV-474

Return to the villages means a definite, voluntary recognition of the duty of bread labour and all it connotes.

MM-201

The message of *khaddar* can penetrate to the remotest villages if we only will that it shall be so.

T-2-244

The snakes have their place in the agricultural economy of the village, but our villagers do not seem to realize it.

T-4-89

The villagers want bread—not butter—and disciplined work, some work that will supplement their agricultural avocations which do not go on for all the 12 months.

XXVI-379

Today the cities dominate and drain the villages so that they are crumbling to ruin.

MM-370

Urbanization in India is slow but sure death for her villages and villagers.

T-3-291

You cannot build non-violence on a factory civilisation, but it can be built on self-contained villages.

MM-369

Give the villagers village arithmetic, village geography, village history, and the literary knowledge that they must use daily, i.e. reading and writing letters, etc.

EWE-2

* North-West Frontier Province of undivided India prior to 1947

We have to tackle the triple malady which holds our villages fast in its grip: want of corporate sanitation, deficient diet and inertia.

T-4-73

VIOLENCE—HIMSA

I hold that the world is sick of armed rebellions.

XXVI-140

It is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence.

T-2-333

My dictionary has no such expression as a violent fight.

T-5-232

With God as witness, I want to proclaim this truth, that the way of violence cannot bring Swaraj, it can only lead to disaster.

T-3-77

Violence can only be effectively met by non-violence. This is an old, established truth.

T-7-404

I do believe that ideas ripen quickly when nourished by the blood of martyrs.

XXVI-489

I condemn, for all climes and for all times, secret murders and unfair methods even for a fair cause.

XXVI-488

Between violence and cowardly fight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice.

T-2-131

If intellect plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence.

T-5-291

I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful non-co-operation a trial.

T-2-6

I cannot teach you violence, as I do not myself believe in it. I can only teach you not to bow your head before any one even at the cost of your life.

T-8-37

My opposition to the socialist and the other consists in attacking violence as a means of effecting any lasting reform.

T-7-404

Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me.

T-3-77

I would risk violence a thousand times rather than risk the emasculation of a whole race.

MM-142

For me popular violence is as much an obstruction in our path as the Government violence.

MM-138

My experience teaches me that truth can never be propagated by doing violence.

MM-177

My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means, for their fruit will not be freedom but slavery in disguise.

T-2-126

I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

T-2-4

I hold that whatever may be true of other countries, a bloody revolution will not succeed in India.

XXVI-140

It is an ever-growing belief with me that truth cannot be found by violent means.

T-3-217

To kill these (rabid) dogs does, in my opinion, amount to *himsa*, but I believe it to be inevitable if we are to escape much greater *himsa*.

T-2-323

I suffer snakes to be killed in the *ashram* when it is impossible to catch them and put them out of harm's way.

T-2-323

I do not want to live at the cost of the life even of a snake. I should let him bite me to death rather than kill him.

TIG-117

My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house-top that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence and *swadeshi* is a message to the world.

T-2-64

I isolate this non-co-operation from Sinn Feinism for it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence.

T-2-6

I do not regard killing or assassination or terrorism as good in any circumstances whatsoever.

XXVI-489

Violence becomes imperative when an attempt is made to assert rights without any reference to duties.

T-4-13

Himsa does not need to be taught. Man as animal is violent, but as spirit he is non-violent.

T-5-316

What is gained by violence must be lost before superior violence.

T-5-225

Violence is a concession to human weakness, *satyagraha* is an obligation.

MM-117

Khadi has been conceived as the foundation and the image of *ahimsa*. A real *khadi*-wearer will not utter an untruth. A real *khadi*-wearer will harbour no violence, no deceit, no impurity.

T-4-217

The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

T-4-11

Satyagraha has been designed as an effective substitute for violence.

TIG-53

It is claimed for *satyagraha* that it is a complete substitute for violence or war.

T-3-260

Civil disobedience does not admit of any violence or countenancing of violence directly or indirectly.

XXVI-538

Civil disobedience is not only the natural right of a people, especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government, but that it is also a substitute for violence or armed rebellion.

T-3-153

Violence always thrived on counter-violence

T-8-86

Our aim is not to do things by violence to opponents.

XXVI-270

Naked violence repels like the naked skeleton shorn of flesh, blood and the velvety skin.

T-3-11

Violence is bound sooner or later to exhaust itself but peace cannot issue out of such exhaustion.

T-7-5

If there is violence, it will certainly be crushed because violence can only end in a disgraceful rout.

T-5-256

A successful bloody revolution can only mean further misery for the masses.

XXVI-140

The essential part of your message to the country is not how to wield the sword but to cease to be afraid of it.

T-7-114

Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.

T-2-4

To answer brutality with brutality is to admit one's moral and intellectual bankruptcy, and it can only start a vicious circle.

MM-146

Armed conspiracies against something satanic is like matching Satans against Satan.

MM-140

Peace through superior violence inevitably leads to the atom bomb and all that it stands for.

MM-146

Pure motives can never justify impure or violent action.

XXV-442

We do want to drive out the beast in man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him.

MM-142

The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form.

T-4-11

To prevent the workers from going to their work by standing in front of them is pure violence and must be given up.

T-4-269

By using violence to subjugate one another we are using violence against our own souls.

XXV-279

Violent nationalism, otherwise known as imperialism, is the curse.

XXV-369

What senseless violence does is to prolong the lease of life of British or any foreign rule.

T-7-194

Disorder and violence were in fact the one thing that might check the pace of India's progress.

T-7-22

India's freedom will not be won by violence but only by the purest suffering without retaliation.

T-2-164

Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her borders.

T-5-178

The socialistic conception of the West was born in an environment reeking with violence.

MM-251

The man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman.

T-7-61

It is difficult to judge, when both sides are employing weapons of violence, which side 'deserves' to succeed.

T-5-13

The consumption of vegetables involves *himsa*, but I cannot give them up.

T-2-323

The man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it.

T-7-61

To yield to the threat or actual use of violence is a surrender of one's self-respect and religious conviction.

T-2-133

None, while in flesh, can be entirely free from *himsa*, because one never completely renounces the will to live.

T-2-322

Any act of injury done from self-interest, whether amounting to killing or not, is doubtless *himsa*.

T-2-322

The function of violence is to obtain reform by external means, the function of passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is to obtain it by growth from within, which, in its turn, is obtained by self-suffering, self-purification.

X-248

For me to dominate the Congress in spite of these fundamental differences is almost a species of violence which I must refrain from.

T-3-319

A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb.

T-4-314

The bomb-throwers have discredited the cause of freedom, in whose name they threw the bombs.

T-2-357

The present [second] war is the saturation point in violence. It spells, to my mind, also its doom.

T-5-316

Carrying arms for the removal of the Arms Act can never fall under any scheme of non-violence.

T-2-279

The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs even as violence cannot be by counter-violence.

TIG-142

Non-violence is an unchangeable creed. It has to be pursued even in the face of violence raging around you.

T-4-236

Non-violence of the strong is infinitely braver than their violence.

T-7-2

Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me, therefore, to be any improvement on the technique of violence.

T-7-67

True non-violence is mightier than the mightiest violence.

T-4-252

True *ahimsa* lay in running into the mouth of *himsa*.

T-5-83

In an atmosphere of *ahimsa*, one has no scope to put his *ahimsa* to the test. It can be tested only in the face of *himsa*.

T-5-90

Vehement writing, even if it is charged with truth, is no answer to violent action.

T-5-178

Non-violence becomes meaningless if violence is permitted for self-defence.

XXV-280

Our non-violence in respect of the Government is a result of our incapacity for effective violence.

T-5-187

Indeed the very word, non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life.

MM-265

The *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton.

T-2-5

The *Koran* says that there can be no heaven for one who sheds the blood of an innocent neighbour.

XXV-519

If it is by force that we wish to achieve Swaraj, let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may.

T-2-92

The fragrance of non-violence to him was never sweeter than it was today amidst the stink of violence of the most cowardly type that was being displayed in the cities of India.

T-8-27

Just as there are signs by which you can recognize violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence.

T-5-277

A non-violent occupation is that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

MM-265

Non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from goodwill and gentleness.

XXV-473

A non-violent warrior knows no leaving the battle. He rushes into the mouth of *himsa*, never even once harbouring an evil thought.

T-5-116

History records numerous instances of the truth that those who use the sword shall perish by the sword.

T-3-62

A dissolute character is more dissolute in thought than in deed, and the same is true of violence.

T-6-116

A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent reaction upon the opponent.

T-5-130

Civilization based on non-violence must be different from that organised for violence.

T-5-209

If God holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way.

T-5-213

The reaction that a ruthless dictator sets up in us is either that of awe or pity according respectively as we react to him violently or non-violently

T-5-4

Is it not possible for us all to realise that the masses will never mount to freedom through murder?

T-5-258

The difficulty one experiences in meeting *himsa* arises from weakness of mind.

T-7-404

When the *panchayat raj* is established, public opinion will do what violence can never do.

T-7-405

When there is no desire for fruit, there is also no temptation for untruth or *himsa*.

T-2-311

VIRTUE

Virtue must not be suppressed because many will feign it.

MM-32

We should cease to grow the moment we cease to discriminate between virtue and vice, and slavishly copy the past which we do not fully know.

T-2-51

Vice pays homage to virtue, and sometimes the way it chooses is to expect virtue not to fall from its pedestal even whilst vice is rampant round about.

T-3-3

Non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues.

T-5-18

Loyalty to a state so corrupt is a sin,
disloyalty a virtue.
T-3-26

That which is inherent in man is his
virtue.
XXVI-294

Vow

A vow imparts stability, ballast and
firmness to one's character.
T-2-364

A'vow must lead one upwards, never
downwards towards perdition.
T-2-365

A life without vows is like a ship
without an anchor or like an edifice that
is built on sand instead of a solid rock.
T-2-364

The taking of vows that are not
feasible or that are beyond one's
capacity would betray thoughtlessness
and want of balance.
T-2-365

A person unbound by vows can never
be absolutely relied upon.
T-2-364

It goes without saying that
moderation and sobriety are of the very
essence of vow-taking.
T-2-365

Self-restraint is the very keystone of
the ethics of vow-taking.
T-2-365

To shirk taking of vows betrays
indecision and want of resolution.
T-2-365

My religion teaches me that a
promise once made or a vow once taken
for a worthy object may not be broken.
T-2-154

What can be richer and more fruitful
than a greater fulfilment of the vow of
non-violence in thought, word and deed
or the spread of that spirit?
T-2-86

The essence of a vow does not
consist in the difficulty of its
performance but in the determination
behind it unflinchingly to stick to it in
the teeth of difficulties.
T-2-365

W

WAR

War knows no law except that of might.

T-7-144

History is a record of perpetual wars, but we are now trying to make new history.

T-4-165

People engaged in a war do not lose temper over matters which affect the fortunes of war.

T-5-257

When there is war, the poet lays down the lyre, the lawyer his law reports, the schoolboy his books.

T-2-62

It is claimed for *satyagraha* that it is a complete substitute for violence or war.

T-3-260

Non-violence requires more than the courage of the soldier of war.

XXV-437

The end of non-violent 'war' is always an agreement, never dictation, much less humiliation of the opponent.

T-5-257

The author of the *Mahabharata* has not established the necessity of physical warfare; on the contrary he has proved its futility.

TIG-97

The science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. The science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy.

T-4-280

I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow to the Moloch of war but they will rely upon their own capacity for suffering to save their country's honour.

T-5-171

In the characteristics of the perfected man of the *Gita*, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare.

TIG-97

A warrior lives on his wars, whether offensive or defensive. And he suffers a collapse if he finds that his warring capacity is unwanted.

T-5-296

It is open to a war resister to judge between two combatants and wish success to the one who has justice on his side.

T-5-197

Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all war.

T-7-2

When a man vowed to non-violence as the law governing human being dares to refer to war, he can only do it so as to strain every nerve to avoid it.

T-8-140

Where there are wars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love.

MM-417

Whatever may be true of the other modes of warfare, in *satyagraha* it has been held that the causes for failure are to be sought within.

T-5-187

WASTE

You may not waste a grain of rice or a scrap of paper, and similarly a minute of your time. It is not ours. It belongs to the nation and we are trustees for the use of it.

XXVI-272

WEALTH

Let your zeal for the dumb millions be not stifled in the search for wealth.

T-2-272

A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he has done to his fellowmen.

T-7-341

For every minute that I spin, there is in me the consciousness that I am adding to the nation's wealth.

T-3-5

WELFARE

I hold no man to be indispensable for the welfare of the country.

T-2-137

WIDOW—WIDOWHOOD

Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion.

T-2-227

To coerce widowhood upon little girls is a brutal crime for which we Hindus are daily paying dearly.

T-2-227

So long as we have thousands of widows in our midst, we are sitting on a mine which may explode at any moment.

T-2-227

Every widow I have met has recognized in the wheel a dear forgotten friend.

T-2-38

Khaddar brings a ray of hope to the widow's broken-up home.

T-2-256

In the name of religion, we force widowhood upon our three lakhs of girl-widows who could not understand the import of the marriage ceremony.

T-2-227

We cry for cow protection in the name of religion, but we refuse protection to the human cow in the shape of the girl-widow.

T-2-227

If we would be pure, if we would save Hinduism, we must rid ourselves of this poison of enforced widowhood.

T-2-227

WOMAN

Woman is the incarnation of *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering.

T-5-227

Woman is, by habit or nature, queen of the household. She is not designed to organize on a large scale.

XXV-153

Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering and her advent to public life should, therefore, result in purifying it, in restraining unbridled ambition and accumulation of property.

T-2-367

Woman is more fitted than man to make explorations and take bolder action in *ahimsa*.

MM-294

Women are special custodians of all that is pure and religious in life.

MM-293

A woman's intuition has often proved truer than man's arrogant assumption of superior knowledge.

T-2-51

Every woman will tell the curious that with the disappearance of the spinning wheel vanished India's happiness and prosperity.

T-2-38

The woman who knows and fulfils her duty realises her dignified status.

MM-294

The woman has circumvented man in a variety of ways in her unconsciously subtle ways, as the man has vainly and equally consciously struggled to thwart the woman in gaining ascendancy over him.

T-2-367

The duty of motherhood, which the vast majority of woman will always undertake, requires the qualities which men need not possess.

T-5-227

A fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dishonoured.

MM-301

There is no occasion for women to consider themselves subordinate or inferior to men.

MM-297

Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities.

MM-292

If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior.

T-3-33

If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman.

T-3-33

To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman.

T-3-33

Who can make a more effective appeal to the heart than woman?

T-3-33

Man is born of woman; he is flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone.

T-2-300

Man the law-giver will have to pay a dreadful penalty for the degradation he has imposed upon the so called weaker sex.

MM-292

Men to be men must be able to trust their womenfolk, even as the latter are compelled to trust them.

T-2-249

Marriage is not an act of service. It is a comfort man or woman seeks for himself or herself.

XXVI-285

Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement made by parents for money.

MM-298

Languages proclaim that woman is half of man, and by parity of reasoning, man is half of woman.

MM-297

I am the only one whom you may find it hard to get rid of, for I have always counted myself as a woman.

T-7-87

I have mentally become a woman in order to steal into her heart.

MM-291

My own opinion is that, just as fundamentally man and woman are one, their problem must be one in essence.

MM-294

My quarrel with the advocates of contraceptives lies in their taking for granted that ordinary mortals cannot exercise self-control.

MM-289

What is it but my *ashima* that draws thousands of women to me in fearless confidence?

T-5-291

For the courage of self-sacrifice, woman is any time superior to man, as I believe man is to woman for the courage of the brute.

MM-294

Woman, I hold, is the personification of self-sacrifice, but unfortunately today she does not realise what a tremendous advantage she has over man.

MM-291

Any young man who makes dowry a condition to marriage, discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood.

MM-298

Contraceptives are an insult to womanhood.

MM-288

If you want to play your part in the world's affairs, you must refuse to deck yourselves for pleasing man.

T-2-300

It is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of the hearth.

T-5-227

If we would be pure, if we would save Hinduism, we must rid ourselves of this poison of enforced widowhood.

MM-299

If what passed as non-violence did not enable people to protect the honour of women, or if it did not enable women to protect their own honour, it was not non-violence.

T-7-30

Why should men arrogate to themselves the right to regulate female purity?

MM-29

Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion.

MM-229

The restoration of spinning to its central place in India's peaceful campaign for deliverance from the imperial yoke gives her women a special status.

T-5-206

If we all could give our own definitions of God, there would be as many definitions as there are men and women.

XXVI-224

A smattering of English is worse than useless; it is an unnecessary tax on our women.

XIV-464

Man has regarded woman as his tool. She has learnt to be his tool and in the end found it easy and pleasurable to be such, because when one drags another in his fall, the descent is easy.

T-4-45

WORK

The villagers want bread and not butter, and disciplined work—some work that will supplement their agricultural avocations which do not go on for all the 12 months.

XXVI-397

Joint work is an impossibility where the workers distrust one another.

BUNCH -358

Lack of finances never represented a real difficulty to a sincere worker. Finances follow, they dog your footsteps if you represent a real cause.

T-7-26

WORLD

The world easily finds an honourable place for the magician who produces new and dazzling things.

T-2-215

The world is weary of hate. We see the fatigue overcoming the Western nations.

T-2-199

The whole world is in the throes of a new birth. Anything done for a temporary gain would be tantamount to an abortion.

T-5-273

The whole world is like the human body with its various members. Pain in one member is felt in the whole body.

T-7-116

The most practical, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word when you have no positive reason to the contrary.

XXV-450

Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world will disappear if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint.

T-2-181

Buddha renounced every worldly happiness because he wanted to share with the whole world his happiness which was to be had by men who sacrificed and suffered in the search for truth.

T-2-295

For a fallen India to aspire to move the world and protect the weaker races is seemingly an impertinence.

T-2-327

Non-violence, applied to very large masses of mankind, is a new experiment in the history of the world.

T-5-273

Non-violence being the mightiest force in the world and also the most elusive in its working, it demands the greatest exercise of faith.

T-5-17

Satyagraha is a force that has come to stay. No force in the world can kill it.

XXVI-292

So long as we fear the outside world, we must cease to think of *Swaraj*.

XXVI-162

The greatest menace to the world today is the growing, exploiting, irresponsible imperialism.

XXV-19

An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.

T-2-46

I have made the world's faith in God my own, and as my faith is ineffaceable, I regard that faith as amounting to experience.

TIG-4

I hold that the world is sick of armed rebellions.

XXVI-140

I own no property and yet I feel that I am perhaps the richest man in the world.

XXVI-561

When I see a cow, it is not an animal to eat, it is a poem of pity for me and I worship it and I shall defend its worship against the whole world.

XXV-459

The golden way was to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family like the members of one family.

T-7-250

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world.

MM-90

Love is the subtlest force in the world.

XXV-392

The world is changing every moment, and is therefore unreal. It has no permanent existence.

TIG-11

That which you look upon as your own you may keep only so long as the world allows you to own it.

MM-169

The world cannot be successfully fooled for all time.

MM-33

It is indeed a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves.

T-2-85

WORSHIP

Some form of common worship and a common place of worship appear to be a human necessity.

MM-105

God is omnipresent; even a pebble in the Narmada* can represent Him and serve as an object of worship.

XXVI-309

WRONG

Wrong has no prescriptive right to exist, merely because it is of a long standing.

T-7-98

* cf a popular saying that all pebbles (*Kankars*) in the Narmada are *Shankars* (stones to be worshipped)

“नर्मदा में जितने कंकर, उतने शंकर”

Y

YAJNA

Yajna is not *yajna* if one feels it to be burdensome or annoying.

MOG-21

Yajna having come to us with our birth, we are debtors all our lives, and thus for ever bound to serve the universe.

MOG-19

Yajna is duty to be performed, or service to be rendered, all twenty-four hours of the day.

MM-2298

I have called spinning the *yajna* of this age for India.

XXVI-29

The *yajna* of our age and for us is the spinning-wheel.

T-2-247

The spinning-wheel is the auspicious symbol of *sharir yajna* (body labour).

XXV-562

Every single act of one who would lead a life of purity should be in the nature of *yajna*.

MOG-19

There is no *yajna* (sacrifice) greater than spinning calculated to bring peace to the troubled spirit, to soothe the distracted student's mind, to spiritualize his life.

XXV-577

YOUTH

Responsibility will mellow and sober the youth and prepare them for the burden they must discharge.

T-2- 271

Literature, full of the virus of self-indulgence, served out in attractive forms, is flooding this country from the West and there is the greatest need for our youth to be on their guard.

T-2-319



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